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VII.

AXEL MOBERG
THE BOOK OF THE HIMYARITES

THE BOOK OF THE HIMYARITES

FRAGMENTS OF A HITHERTO UNKNOWN
SYRIAC WORK

EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTION AND TRANSLATION,

BY

AXEL MOBERG

WITH EIGHT FACSIMILES

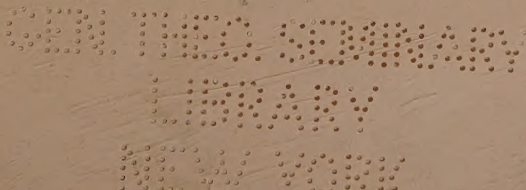


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PREFACE

In the Årsberättelse 1920—1921 of Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund, published in September 1921, I accounted for the discovery of the fragments of the Book of the Himyarites (see also below, p. xi). It is much against my wish that the publication of the text of those fragments has been delayed till now. My excuse is solely other work, that could not be postponed, the edition of the Greater Grammar of Bar Hebraeus, published 1922, and my university duties, which prevented me, over and over again, for weeks and months, from dealing with the fragments.

In offering now, at last, the present volume to the public it has been my main object to give an absolutely trustworthy edition of the text of the remains of the Book of the Himyarites. Before reading this text, however, it is necessary to take notice of the short introductory remark on pp. cxlix f.

The translation is intended to bring this text, in a practically speaking exact form, within the reach also of him who is not acquainted with the Syriac language. In this translation, therefore, the portions restored by way of conjecture, or the reading of which is doubtful, are enclosed between brackets. The lacunae in the text not conjecturally filled up are also indicated in the translation. It should be observed, however, that the notes "lines (or "one line") missing", inserted in the translation, refer to those lines of the MS. only of which no letter at all remains. Smaller lacunae, or even lacunae extending over the space of a line or more but not embracing an actual line of the MS., are marked only by The actual space of the gap in such a case is to be found by consulting the Syriac text and the notes on it. As to the forms of the names of persons in the translation see the remarks on p. lxxx.

The Facsimiles are intended not only to convey an idea of the condition of the fragments but also to act as substitutes for the originals on some specially interesting points in the text. Unfortunately the size

of the volume did not allow them to be given in the full size of the originals. Only the facsimiles on Plate VIII are full-sized. The size of the other facsimiles can be estimated by comparing those on that plate and consulting the statements on pp. xiii f.

The Introduction contains first the description of the fragments together with other particulars necessary for the textual criticism. Further, I have collected there the materials, and indicated the principal points of view considered of importance for the critical appreciation of the narrative itself in its literary relations and historical value.

It was thus my endeavour to lay a sure basis for further investigation, and to facilitate the study of this new source to the history of Arabia and the struggle of religions and nations there. But I did not think myself entitled to delay the publication of that source by myself discussing, at first hand, all the questions involved. Many a problem is only touched in passing and the previous discussion of these questions is not recapitulated but, as a rule, taken as being known to the reader.

I am greatly obliged to Mr. H. Caudwell, English lecturer in the university of Lund, for correcting the English of my manuscript.

I wish to thank here my friend and colleague, Professor Martin P. Nilsson, for the interest he has taken, as Secretary of Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund, in the preparation of this volume.

My heartiest thanks are due to the owners of the fragments edited, Mr. and Mrs. E. G. Wirén, of Stocksund, for the true scientific interest with which they readily granted permission to publish their precious manuscript, and for the confidence and courteous patience they have shown in placing it at my disposal and entrusting it to my care for several years.

Lund, *September*, 1924.

AXEL MOBERG.

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INTRODUCTION

THE MANUSCRIPT

A MANUSCRIPT AND ITS BOARDS

In the spring of 1920 I received for examination a Syriac manuscript belonging to two Swedish bibliophiles, Mr. and Mrs. E. G. Wirén of Stocksund. The owners had themselves observed that the cloth-covered boards of the volume, which were ripped open, also contained a number of fragments in Syriac writing, and they were interested to know something about them as well as about the main manuscript.

Prying into the boards I happened to read on one of the many fragments there hidden the lines that are to be found in the present volume p. 54^a, 15–25. As I was fairly certain, at the first glance, that those lines had not been met with, up to that date, in all Syriac literature, I proposed to the owners to let a competent person open the boards and take out the fragments of old MSS. of which the boards were composed. My proposal was accepted and in December 1920 I received for further examination a bundle of fragments, greater and smaller, that had been found in the boards together with some pieces of embroidered linen, possibly of Egyptian make of the thirteenth century. Amongst those fragments, the greatest part turned out to be the remnants of a work, the title of which was once "The Book of the Himyarites". It is the text of these fragments that is now edited for the first time in this volume.¹⁾

Before going on to describe in some detail the fragments and the MS. of that work I think fit to make some remarks as to the MS. in the boards of which the fragments were found. As stated already in my note just cited, it contains a collection of liturgies for the celebration of the Eucharist in the Jacobite Church. The volume has lost many leaves, especially at the beginning and at the end. There are remains of 29 quires of 10 leaves each, of which however only 7 quires still retain all their original leaves; two further quires are made complete

¹⁾ Cf. Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund. *Årsberättelse 1920–1921*, pp. 30–40.

by means of additional leaves written by a second hand; all the rest are more or less defective. Several leaves are loose from the binding.

The first leaves existing contain the latter part of a liturgy of the Eucharist, which ends (fol. 18^b)¹⁾ with a special note (ܠܗܡ ܠܗܡܠܠ ܡܝܠܠ ܡܝܠܠ ܡܝܠܠ ܡܝܠܠ) bearing the date 1781 of the Seleucidian era, i. e. A. D. 1469—70. On the next leaf but one (20^b) begins an introduction to the solemn bringing in of the holy elements (ܠܗܡܠܠ ܡܝܠܠ ܡܝܠܠ). The leaf 25^a brings an Index of liturgies of the Eucharist, which is in conformity with the contents of all the rest of the volume. It runs:

Index of Liturgies.

1. of James, the brother of the Lord, 2. of Simeon Kepha,
3. of the twelve Apostles, 4. ܠܗܡܠܠ, i. e. of Julius, 6. of Mar Thomas ܠܗܡܠܠܝܐ, 7. of Ignatius the "Igneous", 8. of Mar Philoxenos of Mabbogh, 9. of the same Mar Philoxenos, 10. of Mar Xystos (Sixtus), 11. of Matthew the Shepherd, 12. of Mar Dionysios, 13. of St. John the Evangelist, 14. of Mar Eustathios, 15. of Mar Kyrillos, 16. of Mar James the Doctor, 17. of Mar Philoxenos of Bagdad.

In the midst of this last liturgy the MS. ends abruptly, many leaves of the quire being missing. A colophon therefore is not to be found nor otherwise any statement as to the date or the provenience of the MS. apart from the year given above.

This kind of liturgical MSS. is well known amongst scholars and has many representatives in the libraries of Europe.²⁾ It is not necessary therefore, I think, to dwell longer on this subject.

As to the leaves and fragments of which the boards were composed they belonged to three if not four different MSS. But by far the greatest part of them came from the MS. that contained once the Book of the Himyarites. The rest, about a dozen greater pieces and some small fragments from two (or three) different MSS., one of which is in two or three different handwritings, are in a very bad condition. The text in the few fragments from one of those MSS. is still tolerably legible; it contains some trifling lines out of medical or chemical recipes. The fragments of the second of those MSS. only by exception present a single line that is legible from end to end, notwithstanding the lines

¹⁾ The numbering of the leaves is a preliminary one. Originally this leaf belonged to the fourth quire of the MS.

²⁾ See A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Bonn 1922), Register s. v. *Anaphora*.

being only 9—9.5 centimetres in length and the comparatively large handwriting allowing only four or five words in each line. The size of the page of this MS. was 18 centimetres by 14; to be fitted in the boards the pages had to be pasted together to pieces of the size 21 centimetres by 16.5, which was the size of the boards. The book-binder has done his work very well and, as the leaves now are full of holes, decayed and brittle, it has been difficult, often impossible, to separate them from each other. This task has been brought about, therefore, only so far as to insure no fragment of the Book of the Himyarites being hidden in these pieces of paper pasted together. The contents of these fragments seem to be prayers.

From the same volume certainly is another piece in a quite different, though also West-Syrian handwriting, immediately taking up a line of what seems to be the first hand. Two more fragments are in a writing closely resembling this latter one though perhaps larger and stronger. They are written, however, in Karshūnī.

All these fragments thus are of no special interest as to their contents. And I have not been able to discover in them any hint as to the date when they were put in the boards. I think, however, one can take the date given above, the year A. D. 1469—70, as the approximate date of the liturgical MS. itself and probably at the same time it was bound in the boards which have up till now hidden in their interior the fragments in question.

THE REMNANTS OF AN OLD CODEX

By far the greatest part of the fragments in the boards and the best preserved of them, belong to the Book of the Himyarites and to another work, a theological compilation, originally contained in the same volume. These fragments are fifty-eight in number, forty-nine of which are from the Book of the Himyarites, six from the other work, while three small pieces (Fragm. XLV, L, LI) are not yet identified though they, probably, are from the Book of the Himyarites too. One of the fragments (Fragm. XXX) contains, besides a portion of the text of the colophon of that book, also the first part of the theological treatise.

The fragments of the Book of the Himyarites vary considerably in size and condition. Originally the page of the MS. was of the size 26 centimetres by 16 (or 16.5) or thereabout. The number of lines on the page varied from 25 to 31. To be fitted into the board this page

had to be cut down to the size of 21 centimetres instead of 26, cf. above, p. xiii. Of this size are the fragments I, II, IX–XVIII, XXVI–XXX (cf. Plates I and IV) and, originally, one more, which, however, now is torn in half lengthways giving in consequence the two *Fragm.* XXIII and XXIV. *Fragm.* XXV looks like these two, but is much damaged, and has, not to mention other defects, lost about one third of its length. The fragments VII–VIII, XIX–XXII represent respectively the upper and lower portions of leaves which have been cut right in half (cf. Plates III, V, and VI). The fragments III–VI offer specimens of a third type. Two coherent leaves have been trimmed down to one piece of the normal size (21 centimetres by 16) by cutting off the exterior parts all round the required shape (cf. Plate II). Fortunately some of the strips which had been cut off by this procedure likewise have been put in the boards, and are now the fragments XXXI–XLII, XLIV, LII, and, probably, XLV (cf. Plate VII). The fragments XLIII, XLVI–XLIX, finally, are small pieces broken off from some of the greater fragments and so, probably, are also the fragments L and LI, though I have not succeeded in replacing them (cf. Plate VII).

The fragments of the theological treatise are, besides *Fragm.* XXX, mentioned above, five leaves of the kind of the *Fragm.* I, II, and XXVI–XXX just described; the sixth one is a little fragment broken off from a greater leaf.

These works, the Book of the Himyarites and the theological treatise, have both formed parts of the same volume. The *Fragm.* XXX bears as just stated, in the first column of the leaf, what certainly is the end of the final note of the first work together with an introductory note to the second. The leaves belonging to this work are of the same size and of the same paper and the ink and the handwriting are the same. The only difference is that, though the pages of the Book of the Himyarites are written in two columns, some of the pages of the theological treatise—in all seven pages out of eleven and a half—are not divided in the same way.

All these fragments of the Book of the Himyarites are of course not in the same condition¹). *Fragm.* IX–XVIII are comparatively well preserved. They are clipped both at top and bottom: at the top without damaging the text, while at the bottom in some cases one line is missing,

¹) For details in every case see the corresponding page of the text and the notes on that page.

in other cases the text is intact, or at least can be reconstructed from the remnants of script still left. In other respects these fragments are in the best condition: the paper is not injured either by damp or by worms and the writing stands out clearly and distinctly. Small holes obviously made by the bookbinder for fixing the boards in the binding are quite harmless. The other fragments of the same size, viz. I, II, and XXIII—XXX, are in a much inferior state, torn and worm-eaten, with, in most cases, a considerable portion of one corner worn off. In very bad condition are the Fragm. XIX—XXII, while Fragn. VII and VIII are nearly as well preserved as Fragn. IX—XVIII. Of each of these two fragments, however, one border has been worn out, the result of which is that three or four lines are missing in the midst of the leaf of which they represent respectively the upper and the lower portions. On the other hand they give good specimens, as also the Fragn. XXXI—XXXIII, XXXVI, XXXIX do, of the original upper and lower margins of the pages otherwise cut away. In tolerably good condition also are Fragn. III—VI in themselves, though they have had their place in a corner of the board which has been much worn. But the manner in which they were adapted for the purpose of the bookbinder has led to a lamentable consequence for the conservation of the text of the leaves of which they form parts. As already stated, the upper and lower portions of these leaves are to be found in the strips Fragn. XXXI—XXXIII and others. But also the exterior parts of the leaves have been cut away with the result that the exterior columns of these leaves are missing nearly totally or, at the best, to the half of their breadth, as is to be seen pp. 7—22 of the Syriac text (cf. Plate II). In addition, Fragn. V has in its upper part a half-round gap, over portions of three lines, which, however, can be filled up by Fragn. XLVIII.

In some cases, not very many, a border or a corner of a fragment has got stained by damp and in consequence the script has become difficult to read if not illegible. Otherwise it is clear and distinct, and has very likely been better preserved in the boards than it could have been under ordinary circumstances.

The script is a regular old Jacobite hand. Had it not been for the date given by the MS. itself, viz. A. D. 932 (see *infra* p. xxi), I should have felt disposed to make it even a hundred years older. It shows a close resemblance to the Edessene Syriac script of the *Codex Climaci Rescriptus*, which has been ascribed by Rev. G. Margoliouth and

Mr. A. G. Ellis to the beginning of the ninth century.¹⁾ If anything, I should have been inclined to think it even slightly older than that script.

The MS. is most carefully written. The punctuation is of the same character as in the MS. just referred to. Especially the interpunctuation is consistently carried through; the diacritical points are used in the ordinary, not very clear way. It is somewhat striking that the upper and the lower point so often are placed respectively over and under the same letter thus producing, as it would seem, a sign ÷ like the East-Syrian Pethāhā. In fact, such an interpretation of the sign seems reasonable enough in cases such as ܣܡܥܐ (p. 8^a), ܦܝܬܐ (Perf. with suffix, p. 27^b), and the personal names ܚܝܝܐ (Hayya, p. 30^b), ܕܒܒ (Dabb, p. 24^b), and others. That, however, it would not be the true one is shown by the fact that the same sign occurs very often also in words that have no Pethāhā, e.g., not only in such cases as ܐܕܝܐ (p. 3^a, 61), ܐܕܐ (p. 7^b), but also in ܐܝܐ (p. 27^b), ܐܝܐ (p. 27^b), ܐܝܐ (p. 6^b).

Real vowel-signs do not occur in the MS. except, in three cases, a West-Syrian Pethāhā, viz. in the place-names ܥܠܐ (p. 7^b), ܥܠܐ (p. 8^b), and ܥܠܐ (p. 8^a). This, in my eyes, looks just like an early instance of a new method of indicating the correct pronunciation of not commonly known words. These vowel-signs are all of the first handwriting, no second hand being met with throughout the MS. But, of course, they may have been taken over from an older MS. and this is probably the case.

The headings are in red but the name of the tyrant Jewish king, Masrūq, is in black even in the rubrics. In red are also, in the Index of Chapters, pp. 3–6, the Syriac characters, giving the number of each chapter, as well as the first word (i. e. ܥܠܐ) of each rubric.

On the top of some leaves the word ܡܣܪܩ (on the verso), or the word ܡܣܪܩܐ (on the recto), is written with red ink in Estrangelo characters, thus giving, as a running title, the title of the work ܡܣܪܩܐ. The sign ÷ is placed (with rare exceptions) at the beginning of the first line of every column (on Fragm. XXXI³, p. 13^a, even at the beginning of the second line, obviously by a mistake). The name of the Virgin Mary, of a saint, or a bishop is marked with a little cross (+ or ÷) above the line, sometimes even below it, but the name Masrūq

¹⁾ See *Horae Semiticae*, No. VIII, Codex Climaci Rescriptus ed. by Agnes Smith Lewis (Cambridge 1909), p. XI.

(with very few exceptions) is written upside down. The remnants of the running title occur on *Fragm. II*^v, *XXXIV*², *XXXIV*³, *VII*^v, *IX*¹, *XVIII*^v, *XXI*¹, cf. Syriac text pp. 6, 10, 11, 24, 25, 44, 47. As the text runs without interruption from p. 23 to p. 44, no leaf missing, there originally were, as there still are, from p. 25, which bears the word ܠܬܡܝܬ, to p. 44, with the word ܠܬܡܝܬ, (inclusive) just twenty pages, i. e., ten leaves, or the whole of an ordinary quire, a quinion. Now it was a custom amongst Syrian scribes to write the running title, if they cared for one, on the first and last pages of the quire. If this has been the case here *Fragm. IX—XVIII* form a complete quinion of our MS., *Fragm. VII* and *VIII* (pp. 23f.) being the last leaf of the preceding one. I have detected no quire-marks; see, however, note on p. 47.

There is, however, a circumstance that makes it a question whether in the MS. of the Book of the Himyarites the running title was written in that way. For *Fragm. XXXIV*, which represents the top of a pair of conjugate leaves, bears again on two pages the two words of this running title. But, as can be seen from pp. 10 and 11 of the edition, these pages give a continuous text; thus they are not, as one might think from the fact that the running title is to be found on them, the outer pages of the exterior pair of leaves of the quire, but the inner pages of the interior pair of leaves of it. Hence, in this case, the running title was written in the middle of the quire. We cannot know for certain whether it was so placed instead of on the outer pages of the quire, or whether it was written in both places.

In consequence, when *Fragm. II* (see p. 6) bears the first word of the title, ܠܬܡܝܬ, it may be because it was the fifth leaf of a quire or possibly the tenth one. *Fragm. I*, thus, was either the fourth leaf or the ninth. If the last was the case I scarcely think it possible that the Book was the first work contained in the MS. For eight leaves certainly are too large a space for the introductory note that ends on *Fragm. I*.

And, in fact, the probability is that the running title even in this work was placed, ordinarily, on the first and last pages of the quire, and was only accidentally written in the middle of the quire of which *Fragm. XXXIV* is a portion. For it is more probable that the ten leaves *Fragm. IX—XVIII*, of which the first and the last ones bear each its portion of the running title, once formed a complete quire, than that they should have formed the last half of one quire and the first half of the following. Much the same is the case with *Fragm. XXI—XXX*,

of which the first one has the second portion of the title, and which, with the addition of two leaves of the theological treatise, may have formed, also, a complete quire. On the presumption, thus, that leaves bearing the portions of the running title are, as a rule, the first and last leaves respectively of a quire of ten leaves and only in one case the fifth and sixth ones, the following table of quires has been drawn up to show the original places in the MS. of the fragments still extant, as well as, to some degree at least, the extent of the lacunae and the contents of the different quires. In this table the sign (*a*) after the designation of a fragment denotes that the page of which this fragment forms part bears the first, the sign (*b*) that it bears the last word of the running title.

TABLE OF QUIRES

Quire	Leaf in the quire	Fragments or lacunae	Pages of the edition	Contents
A	1	} missing		
	2			
	3			
	4			
	5			
	6			
	7			
	8			
	9	Fragm. I	3-4	Preface (<i>continued</i>), Index
	10	Fragm. II (<i>a</i>)	5-6	Index (<i>continued</i>)
Quire (or quires) missing				Chapter I-VII
B	1	Fragm. III, XXXI, XXXII	7-8	Chap. VII (<i>end</i>), VIII ¹⁾
	2	} missing		Chap. VIII (<i>continued</i>)
	3			
	4			
	5	Fragm. IV, XXXIII, XXXIV (<i>a</i>)	9-10	Chap. VIII (<i>end</i>), IX
	6	Fragm. IV, XXXIII, XXXIV (<i>b</i>)	11-12	Chap. IX (<i>continued</i>)
	7	} missing		Chap. IX (<i>end</i>), X, XI, XII, XIII
	8			
	9			
	10	Fragm. III, XXXI, XXXII	13-14	Chap. XIII (<i>continued</i>)

¹⁾ It must be stated that no trace of the running title is to be seen on the fragment XXXI though it contains the upper margin of the leaves here supposed to have been the first and last ones of the quire. By supposing them, however, to be the second and ninth leaves too little space is left for Chapters X-XII.

The Manuscript

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Quire	Leaf in the quire	Fragments or lacunae	Pages of the edition	Contents
C	1	missing		Chap. XIII (<i>continued</i>)
	2	Fragm. V, XXXV, XXXVIII, XLVIII	15-16	Chap. XIII (<i>end</i>), XIV
	3	Fragm. VI, XXXVI, XXXVII, XLIV,	17-18	Chap. XIV (<i>end</i>)
	4	LII		
	5			
	6			
	7			
	8	Fragm. VI, XXXVI, XL	19-20	Chap. XVI (<i>continued</i>)
	9	Fragm. V, XXXIX, XLI	21-22	Chap. XVI (<i>end</i>), XVII
	10	missing		Chap. XVII (<i>continued</i>)
D	1	missing		
	2			
	3			
	4			
	5			
	6			
	7			
	8			
	9			
	10	Fragm. VII, VIII (a)	23-24	Chap. XIX (<i>continued</i>)
E	1	Fragm. IX (b)	25-26	Chap. XIX (<i>end</i>), XX
	2	Fragm. X	27-28	Chap. XX (<i>continued</i>)
	3	Fragm. XI	29-30	Chap. XX (<i>end</i>), XXI
	4	Fragm. XII	31-32	Chap. XXI (<i>continued</i>)
	5	Fragm. XIII	33-34	Chap. XXI (<i>continued</i>)
	6	Fragm. XIV	35-36	Chap. XXI (<i>end</i>), XXII
	7	Fragm. XV	37-38	Chap. XXII (<i>continued</i>)
	8	Fragm. XVI	39-40	Chap. XXII (<i>continued</i>)
	9	Fragm. XVII	41-42	Chap. XXII (<i>continued</i>)
	10	Fragm. XVIII (a)	43-44	Chap. XXII (<i>end</i>), XXIII
Quires missing				Chap. XXIII (<i>continued</i>)-XLII
F	1	missing		
	2			
	3			
	4			
	5			
	6			
	7			
	8			
	9	Fragm. XIX, XX, XLIX	45-46	Chap. XLII (<i>continued</i>)
	10	missing		Chap. XLII (<i>end</i>), XLIII

Quire	Leaf in the quire	Fragments or lacunae	Pages of the edition	Contents
G	1	Fragm. XXI, XXII, XLII, XLIII (b)	47-48	Chap. XLIII (continued)
	2	Fragm. XXIII, XXIV, XLVI	49-50	Chap. XLIII (end), XLIV
	3	Fragm. XXV	51-52	Chap. XLIV (continued), XLV, XLVI (?)
	4	Fragm. XXVI, XLVII	53-54	Chap. XLVI (end), XLVII, XLVIII
	5	Fragm. XXVII	55-56	Chap. XLVIII (end) XLIX
	6	Fragm. XXVIII	57-58	Chap. XLIX (continued)
	7	Fragm. XXIX	59-60	Chap. XLIX (end)
	8	Fragm. XXX	61	Colophon (and beginning of the Book of Thimotheos)
	9			
	10			
II		Fragments of the Book of Thimotheos		
	1			
	2			
	3			

One must estimate, thus, I think, the extent of the Book of the Himyarites at, at least, ten quires of 20 pages each and it most probably was considerably more voluminous.

As I have already suggested, this work was perhaps not the first one written in that volume, of which it formed part, and it was certainly not the last. This accounts for the fact, otherwise not to be expected, that two of the first leaves as well as the last ones of the work still remain, just the leaves, in fact, which ordinarily are the first to be lost in a MS. Nor do the fragments, on the whole, seem to indicate a bad state of that MS. from which the bookbinder once took the material for the boards he had to make. As to the paper, Fragn. IX—XVIII are still in excellent condition and most of the others owe their bad state to the knife of the bookbinder, and to the damage caused to the boards by wear and worms.

Much the same is the condition of the leaves which contain the remnants of the theological treatise that followed, in the old codex, the Book of the Himyarites. In the first column of Fragn. XXX ends the final note of that book (see p. 61). Immediately after, in the lower part of the same column, in closer writing, and included in a frame of black ink, the following note is written:

حاصل ہے کہ یہ کتاب جو اب تک لکھی گئی ہے اس میں سے صرف وہی حصہ ہے جو اب تک لکھی گئی ہے۔
 اس میں سے صرف وہی حصہ ہے جو اب تک لکھی گئی ہے۔
 اس میں سے صرف وہی حصہ ہے جو اب تک لکھی گئی ہے۔
 اس میں سے صرف وہی حصہ ہے جو اب تک لکھی گئی ہے۔

²⁾ See *Catalogue of the Syriac MSS. in the British Museum* by W. Wright, p. 640 and A. Baumstark, op. cit., p. 162.

as on the rest of the fragments (in all, three leaves), not even divided in columns (cf. above, p. xiv). The contents are polemical, against "the blasphemies of the Council of Chalcedon", and against Nestorios, whose name once is written upside down as is the name of Masrūq in the Book of the Himyarites.

As to these extracts it should be added only that the quotations from Ignatius are more extensive than in the MS. Add. 12,156¹), judging from the edition by Cureton, *Corpus Ignatianum* (p. 210f). The first passage here given is nothing less than the Letter to the Smyrneans, hitherto not found in Syriac, Chap. I—VI (beginning). The text, following the shorter Greek recension (*Corpus Ignatianum* pp. 103—107), ends with the lines edited in Syriac *ibid.* p. 210, 15—19. Without interruption follow the words ܐܕܥܐ ܒܐ (ibid. l. 23) to ܒܐ ܠܕܥܐ (p. 211, 1) and the passage ܐܕܥܐ to ܐܕܥܐ (ibid. ll. 4—11). Here the column ends; the text of the following column, that I have not identified yet, may be the extracts from Irenaeus, and the first line (or lines) of the column, now missing, might have contained the rubric (see above). The extracts from Gregory Thaumaturgos are those published by P. Lagarde in *Analecta Syriaca* (p. 65, 14—21 and 66, 19—23).

As already stated the handwriting is the same in these fragments as in those of the Book of the Himyarites. The writer Stephanos has passed on immediately from the one work to the other and the date given is, thus, the approximate date of the MS. as a whole. The writer has stated his name not only in this note, as well as in the colophon to the preceding work, but also in his preface on *Fragm. I* (Syriac text p. 3). But in neither place, unfortunately, has the name of the author of the Book of the Himyarites been preserved.

*

The examination of the fragments of the Book of the Himyarites now accounted for has led to the reconstruction, more or less complete, of portions of the text of fifty-nine pages (edition pp. 3—61) from different parts of the MS.²) There are two leaves giving the end of the preface followed by a nearly complete Index of the forty-nine chapters of the work. Further on there are remains of the

¹) This MS. seems to be imperfect at the beginning.

²) I stated, in my preliminary note, cited above, that the remains are from sixty-three pages of the work. Later, however, I succeeded in combining two different fragments, each of which contains remnants of four pages. The figure 63 thus is to be reduced to 59.

chapters VII, VIII, IX, XIII, XIV, XVI, XVII, XIX, XX, XXI, XXII, XXIII, XLII, XLIII, XLIV, XLV, XLVI, XLVII, XLVIII and XLIX, as well as of the colophon. As can be seen from the edition, the remains of some of these chapters consist of few lines only, *e. g.* Chapters VII, XXIII, XLV, XLVI. In other cases the text, though of a certain length, is very fragmentary, *e. g.*, Chapters IX, XIII, XIV, XVI, XLII, while, in other cases again, the text is nearly intact; thus the pages 23—44 offer a continuous text with only few and insignificant lacunae.

These, then, are the remnants of the Book of the Himyarites brought to light by an unexpected discovery. They give, thanks, above all, to the Index of chapters, a clear idea of the plan and composition of that work; they offer many characteristic specimens from various parts of the account, and make us, by extensive passages, well acquainted with its language and literary style. Still they are but *disjecta membra* of a priceless work on the early traditions on Jews and Christians in South Arabia. Many of the leaves recovered by a lucky chance are of comparatively little value from a historical point of view and many a leaf is lost for which I would gladly have given all the leaves of Chapter XLIX and those of the Book of Thimotheos too.

TABLE OF FRAGMENTS

Fragm. I.	p. 3f.	Fragm. XXI.	p. 47f.	Fragm. XLI.	p. 21f.
Fragm. II.	p. 5f.	Fragm. XXII.	p. 47f.	Fragm. XLII.	p. 47f.
Fragm. III.	p. 7f., 13f.	Fragm. XXIII.	p. 49f.	Fragm. XLIII.	p. 47f.
Fragm. IV.	p. 9f., 11f.	Fragm. XXIV.	p. 49f.	Fragm. XLIV.	p. 17f.
Fragm. V.	p. 15f., 21f.	Fragm. XXV.	p. 51f.	Fragm. XLV.	?
Fragm. VI.	p. 17f., 19f.	Fragm. XXVI.	p. 53f.	Fragm. XLVI.	p. 49f.
Fragm. VII.	p. 23f.	Fragm. XXVII.	p. 55f.	Fragm. XLVII.	p. 53f.
Fragm. VIII.	p. 23f.	Fragm. XXVIII.	p. 57f.	Fragm. XLVIII.	p. 15f.
Fragm. IX.	p. 25f.	Fragm. XXIX.	p. 59f.	Fragm. XLIX.	p. 45f.
Fragm. X.	p. 27f.	Fragm. XXX.	p. 61.	Fragm. L.	?
Fragm. XI.	p. 29f.	Fragm. XXXI.	p. 7f., 13f.	Fragm. LI.	?
Fragm. XII.	p. 31f.	Fragm. XXXII.	p. 7f., 13f.	Fragm. LII.	p. 17f.
Fragm. XIII.	p. 33f.	Fragm. XXXIII.	p. 9f., 11f.	Fragm. LIII.	} Book of Thimo- theos
Fragm. XIV.	p. 35f.	Fragm. XXXIV.	p. 9f., 11f.	Fragm. LIV.	
Fragm. XV.	p. 37f.	Fragm. XXXV.	p. 51f.	Fragm. LV.	
Fragm. XVI.	p. 39f.	Fragm. XXXVI.	p. 17f., 19f.	Fragm. LVI.	
Fragm. XVII.	p. 41f.	Fragm. XXXVII.	p. 17f.	Fragm. LVII.	
Fragm. XVIII.	p. 43f.	Fragm. XXXVIII.	p. 15f.	Fragm. LVIII.	
Fragm. XIX.	p. 45f.	Fragm. XXXIX.	p. 21f.		
Fragm. XX.	p. 45f.	Fragm. XL.	p. 19f.		

THE BOOK OF THE HIMYARITES AND ITS RELATION TO OTHER NARRATIVES ON THE ABYSSINIAN-HIMYARITIC STRUGGLES

It is well known that there once was widely spread through the Orient a tradition of an invasion by the Abyssinians of the South of Arabia in the first part of the 6th century, and of certain incidents in connection with that enterprise. As to the form which this tradition has acquired in old literatures there are considerable differences according as to whether one consults a Muhammadan or a Christian, a profane or an ecclesiastical work.¹⁾ The events can be related as merely political ones and brought into connection with the outstanding political fact of those days, the rivalry between Byzantium and Persia, or they can be pictured as a religious struggle, a struggle between Christianity, just penetrating into South Arabia, and Judaism, since old times existing in the country side by side with the indigenous paganism. The ecclesiastical works, on the other hand, dwell, exclusively or especially, on a persecution of the Christians and on the deeds of the martyrs who were made its victims, while the Muhammedan relation, in want of original features of more real value, pads out its narrative with fantastical matters so appreciated by the Arabs. Besides such differences of treatment or representation of the story there are, between these relations, so many divergences concerning the details in nearly every respect, not least as regards the very names of the characters, that it has remained an open question, not only whether any trustworthy information at all can be derived from these sources, but also as to the relations in which they stand to one another. In this tangle of incongruous or contradictory representations, of which it is, however, not necessary here to give a minute account, the Book of the Himy-

¹⁾ Christian sources are:

I. Ecclesiastical:

1. *The martyrology of Hārith* (Martyrium Si Arethae, in this work called *Acta*).

a) Greek text published first by J. Fr. Boissonade in *Anecdota Graeca*, vol. v (Paris 1833), pp. 1–62, and later, with Latin translation, by E. Carpentier in *Acta Sanctorum*, October, vol. x (Paris and Rome 1869), pp. 721–759.

b) Aethiopic (Geez) text published by F. M. E. Pereira in *Historia dos Martyres de Nagran* (Lisbon 1899), pp. 79–122, with Portuguese translation pp. 123–165; cf. German translation by W. Fell in *ZDMG*, vol. 35 (1881), pp. 48–74. This text is said to be derived from an Arabic version.

c) Armenian text (cf. *Acta Sanctorum*, op. cit., p. 719 and *Bibliotheca Hagiographica orientalis* edd. Socii Bollandiani, Bruxelles 1910, p. 26), translated from the Greek (see Nöldeke in *GGA* 1882, 1, p. 207), is not published.

arites now enters as fresh evidence bringing with it, as is often the case with new documents, the solution of some old problems and the introduction of some new ones.

Before going on to study its value as a historical account it will be appropriate first to examine its relation to the other narratives just referred to.

A glance at the Index of chapters of the Book of the Himyarites suffices to show that this work, notwithstanding its historical character, is closely akin to the narratives that I have named above as ecclesiastical, viz.: the *Letter of Simeon of Bēth Arshām* and the *Acta Sⁱ Arethae*. These two works are, as is well known, the principal documents for the traditions which occupy us here. As to their

- d) Arabic text (cf. L. Cheikho, *Le christianisme et la littérature chrétienne en Arabie avant l'islam* I, Beyrouth 1912, p. 71 and see, on a Karshūni MS. at Jerusalem, A. Baumstark in *Oriens Christianus* N. S. vol. iii, p. 323 f.) is not published.
 - e) Of a Latin version of the 9th century a fragment is preserved and published in *Acta Sanctorum* op. cit. pp. 761 f.
 2. *The Letter of Simeon of Bēth Arshām*.
 - a) Syriac text published by I. Guidi in *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, Memorie della classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Vol. vii (Roma 1881), pp. 501—515.
 - b) Of this Letter several more or less altered and shortened Syriac recensions are known, partly embodied in the historical works of John of Asia, (Pseudo-) Zacharias of Mitylene, and Michael Syrus. As for editions see *Bibliotheca Hagiographica*, pp. 24 f.
 3. *The Hymn of John Psaltes*.

Preserved only in a Syriac translation published first by R. Schröter in *ZDMG.*, vol. 31 (1877), pp. 400—405 and later by E. W. Brooks in *Patrologia Orientalis*, vol. vii, pp. 613 ff.
 4. Of secondary importance only are the notices preserved in the *Synaxaria* of the different Oriental churches. The item of a Maronite Synaxarium (in Arabic) is published by Guidi, op. cit., pp. 496 f., those of the Aethiopic first by Sapeto and again by Pereira, op. cit. pp. 169—173 and pp. 179 f. Shorter notes of similar origin are found elsewhere, cf., for instance, *Acta Sanctorum*, op. cit., pp. 714 f.
- II. Profane:
1. Procopius, *De bello persico* I, cap. 19—20 (*Opera omnia* recogn. J. Haury, vol. i, Leipzig 1905, pp. 100—104, 106—110).
 2. Cosmas Indicopleustes, *The Christian Topography* ed. E. O. Winstedt (Cambridge 1909), p. 72 (short notice).
- Other historical works, Byzantine or Syriac, treating the Abyssinian-Himyaritic struggles are devoid of value as independent historical sources.
- Muhammadian sources are the traditions embodied in:
1. Ibn Hishām, *Das Leben Muhammed's* herausg. v. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen 1858), pp. 2—27.
 2. Ṭabari, *Annales* ed. M. J. De Goeje, Series I, pp. 91 v—91 r. and other works.
- I am, however, aware of no other Arabic work that can claim the value of an independent source as to the traditions here in question.

relation to each other it seems to be the preferred opinion that the Acta are based, essentially, on the Letter. This is the view held by Nöldeke and Guidi,¹⁾ who consider the Letter as the authentic work of the Bishop Simeon, just named, and written in the year after the bloody deeds in Najrān, that is in the year 524 of our era. But it is the view held also by Halévy,²⁾ who thinks the Letter a forgery without historical value and without any right to the name of Simeon.

Now I was able, in my preliminary notice on the discovery of the fragments of the Book of the Himyarites,³⁾ to state that the Acta are in still closer connection with this Book of the Himyarites than with the Letter. This verdict has in view, first and essentially, the whole of the plan and the principal lines of the narrative but also many minor details. There prevails, in fact, such an intimate and characteristic agreement between the two works that one need not enter into a very profound study of them to ascertain the justice of the remark (l. c.), that: "The Acta are little more than an extract from some chapters of the Book of the Himyarites."

The following hasty review of the contents of the Acta as compared with corresponding portions of the Book of the Himyarites will confirm this in spite of the fragmentary condition in which this latter work is known to us.

The author of the Acta⁴⁾ begins (§ 1) by fixing the date of the incidents which he is going to relate, and states, at the same time, the names of the kings of the Abyssinians and of the Himyarites at that date, namely Elesbaas and Dunaas, respectively. These kings are shortly characterized. A geographical (and ethnographical) orientation follows stating that the Himyarites were either heathens or Jews. Unfortunately it is impossible to know whether the Book of the Himyarites ever offered exactly the same information in these respects⁵⁾ as nothing remains of its six first chapters. Still it is obvious, from the Index, that Chapters I—III were devoted to, at all events, an identical object.

¹⁾ See Nöldeke in *GGA* 1899, p. 826f. and Guidi, op. laud., pp. 476, 499.

²⁾ Cf. *Revue des études juives*, vol. 18 (1889), pp. 21, 38ff.

³⁾ Cf. Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund, *Årsberättelse 1920—21* (Lund 1921), p. 38.

⁴⁾ I quote this work according to the edition of the Bollandistes, *Acta Sanctorum*, Octobris, T. X (Paris and Rome 1869), pp. 721—759, speaking of the sections of that edition, marked 1—39, as §§ 1—39.

⁵⁾ I do not speak here of the names of the kings as they will be subjects for consideration later.

This paragraph ends by stating that perpetual wars raged between the king of the Abyssinians and the king of the Himyarites, who was his Tributary, on account of the polytheism of the Himyarites. Elesbaas arrives with an army and defeats the impious king of the Himyarites. It is possible that Chapters IV, V and perhaps VI of the Book of the Himyarites contained materially corresponding statements but no details can be derived from the headings of the chapters preserved in the Index, which are the only remains of these portions of the book.

The following paragraph of the Acta (§ 2) tells of the town Najrān, its population, its Christianity, the flight of the Jewish king to the mountains, the return of the king Elesbaas to Abyssinia leaving in Arabia troops under their Abyssinian commander, and how the Jewish king fell upon those troops and massacred them, excited a persecution of the Christians in the country, and finally marched against Najrān. As to the Book of the Himyarites it appears from the Index that Chapters V—IX related similar incidents and fragments of Chapters VII—IX furnish us with specimens of their narrative as to the massacre of the Abyssinians (in Zafār), the beginning of the persecution of the Christians and the coming of the Jewish king to Najrān. But neither from the headings nor from the fragments can we tell whether the geographical details, as, for instance, the description of Najrān, have had their equivalents there.

The next paragraphs (§§ 3—5) describe the vain efforts of the Jewish king first to bring the men of Najrān to abandon Christianity, then to conquer the town, and the treachery by which he finally made himself master of it. The last lines of § 5 relate how the bones of the Bishop Paul, who had been dead for two years, were exhumed and burnt and the ashes scattered in the wind. As to the events recorded, Chapter IX of the Book of the Himyarites is equivalent to these paragraphs. The utterances of the characters are of course not identical in the two versions; such elements of the narrative are usually treated comparatively freely by copyists, editors and compilers. Certain particulars, such as the interpretation of the name Najrān and the statement that the rebellion took place in the winter (in § 3), the Jewish king's claim that the people of Najrān should pay their taxes to him and the account of the Himyaritic monetary system (in § 4), are not to be found in the fragments of the Book of the Himyarites; nor is the episode of the bones of the Bishop Paul recorded in the fragments of this chapter. But a very mutilated passage in a later fragment, from Chapter XVII (see p. 22^a, 14f.),

shows that it was known also to the author of the Book. But in another point—though a rather insignificant one—it seems as if there were a real contradiction between the two works. When the town of Najrān had opened its gates to the Jewish king he entered the town (§ 5, p. 724D). This probably seemed quite natural to the author of the *Acta* seeing that the king had been so anxious to force an entry. But it looks as if this were not the case in the narrative of the Book of the Himyarites. The text is rather fragmentary but everything in the narrative points to the fact that the king himself never entered but stayed outside in his camp (p. 35^a, 22. 43^a, 24ff.). The Najrānites came to him there (p. 11^a, 12), and his own men were sent into the town to collect his victims and bring them out to him.¹⁾ It is obvious that this is the original version—of which, moreover, an echo remains even in the *Acta* a few lines after the passage just alluded to: “καὶ τῇ ἐξῆς ἀνοίξαντες, ἐξῆλθον ἅπαντες οἱ ἀρχηγοὶ αὐτῶν . . . πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα”. The old latin translation of the *Acta*, made by the Bishop Athanasius of Naples in the 9th century, seeks to reconcile the two versions by the words: “Mox autem ingressus teterrimus Homeritarum draco: cui omnes pariter magnates . . . ante ingressum urbis obviam venientes . . .”²⁾ The Letter of Simeon (p. 502, 24) agrees with the Book.

Paragraphs 6—9 relate—though in a rather confused manner—how an immense pyre was prepared on which the priests and other members of the clergy of the town, in all 427 persons, were burnt whilst the notables, with the holy Arethas at their head, were imprisoned and invited to deny their faith. As they refused to do so they were martyred. Their women and children were brought to them to persuade them to recant. But as, on the contrary, they exhorted them to persevere in their refusal the women also were led away to be killed by the sword. After a dispute between ten “κανονικαὶ” on the one side and the rest of the women on the other as to which party was entitled to the benefit and honour of going first to death the execution was carried out. The king expressed his astonishment at the spread of the false doctrine of the Crucified over all the world.

It is easy to see, from many inconsistencies in the narrative,³⁾ that this account is a compilation. In the Book of the Himyarites Chapter XIII, and probably Chapter XVIII, told of similar events; possibly Chapter

¹⁾ See p. 21a, 8. 13. 21b, 20. 22b, 10. 26a, 8. 21. 28b, 1. 4. 39a, 20. 44b, 8ff.

²⁾ *Acta Sanctorum Octobris*, T. X, p. 762B.

³⁾ Cf. also below p. xxxff.

XXIII contained some analogies to what is related in § 9 about the death of the women. Perhaps also, if the full text of the Book of the Himyarites were placed before us, we could discover particulars from these paragraphs of the Acta also in other chapters of the Book. Still there are unmistakably certain differences between the narratives of the two works in the sections in question. The Acta tells of a pyre on which certain martyrs were burnt; in the Book of the Himyarites they perished in the flames of the churches or, in one case, of a house. Still there is in the narrative of the Book of the Himyarites at least a partial equivalent in two definite cases in which the executioners threw fuel on the burning ruins to feed the fire. Other differences certainly are due to the character of the narrative of the Acta as a compilation. The Letter (p. 503f.), here too, tells of the events in the same explicit manner as the Book.

On the other hand the mutual connection of the two narratives appears not only in the principal traits but also in details. As already pointed out, it can not be expected that speeches and dialogues should be reproduced in the same words in different versions. The narrator, in most cases, felt justified in making the actors speak just as he himself thought fit in the situation. It is the more worth noticing, then, that the remark of the Jewish king (Acta § 6, p. 728E), namely that the Romans now realized that the Crucified was a man, is met with also in the Book of the Himyarites (p. 13^a, 24f.). Unfortunately the text is interrupted here so it is doubtful whether the following words in the Acta, alluding to the Nestorians, once occurred in the Book of the Himyarites too. Also the utterance of the Jewish king in which he expressed his astonishment at the Christians (Acta § 9, p. 730D) has its parallel in the Book (p. 21^b, 8–12). The remark (§ 7, p. 729A) that many Christians had escaped and hidden themselves in the mountains does not occur in the corresponding part of the Book of the Himyarites. But something similar is said a little later on in that work (p. 44^b, 18f.), and alluded to in p. 54^a, 9f. Even as to phrases and expressions there are some points of agreement between the two works (cf. notes on the text of pp. 10^a, 19^a, 25^b, 26^a, 27^a, 33a).

The paragraphs 10–14 deal with the martyrdom of a rich widow and her two daughters. This story is nothing but an abridged and confused reproduction of Chapter XXII of the Book of the Himyarites. As this is one of the chapters whose text is preserved intact in our fragments, it is easy here to study the relation between the two

versions. The clear and natural plan of the narrative of the Book of the Himyarites is, in the Acta, thrown into confusion not so much by the abridgement but by a careless transposition of an episode. Paragraphs 11 and 12 reproduce an address that the martyr delivered to the women of Najrān, on her way to the king to be questioned. But the questioning begins in § 10 and is continued in § 13 and the first lines of § 13 show that the king has seen and heard nothing of all that, according to §§ 11 and 12, has just taken place before him. Certain details are remodelled and exaggerated, obviously to make them, to the mind of the redactor, more striking. In the narrative of the Book the widow appears before the king without a veil, for which the king blames her with the remark that she had let only a few men see her face before. This in the Acta leads to the statement that "the sun never before had seen her face" and that therefore the king's men, when bringing her out to be questioned, took care to protect her against its rays by an umbrella, or¹⁾ by bringing her in a sedan. Later on, while questioning her, the king orders her to be unveiled. The two daughters of the widow are in fact, in the Book of the Himyarites, one daughter and one granddaughter. Even in this work, however, they are twice, for the sake of simplicity, called her daughters, (see p. 30^b, 5 and p. 39^a, 21.) In the Book of the Himyarites one of them spits at the king saying: "This spittle in thy face etc."—in the Acta she of course really spits in the king's face.

The martyrdom of this woman is dated in the Acta as "the third day" (p. 731 B). One asks: after which event was it the third day? The expression may easily be combined with the words "the following day" at the beginning of the 6th paragraph. This expression means the day after Najrān had surrendered and the king entered the town. It seems then that the third day is meant to be the third day after the surrender of the town. This however is not the dating of the Book of the Himyarites. There the martyrdom of this widow, the holy Ruhm, took place many days after that incident. Still, there too, a period of three days is mentioned in so far as it is said (p. 38^a, 5) that a daughter of this same Ruhm had been killed "three days before". That day, a Monday, was the day of the martyrdom of the freeborn women in general (see Chap. XX); Ruhm, because of her high social position,

¹⁾ Sic!, the redactor not being able to make up his mind which of the alternatives to choose.

had been separated from the others and was now treated alone with the two girls on Wednesday, "the third day" after the martyrdom of the other freeborn women. The same dating is met with also in the Letter of Simeon (p. 504, 12f.). Hence comes, I think, the τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ of the Acta.

Paragraphs 15–20 of the Acta describe the martyrdom of the holy Arethas and the freeborn men of Najrān; this again is dated as "the following day"—obviously the day after the martyrdom of the widow Ruhm, accounted for in the preceding paragraphs. To take it literally their death is reported already in § 8 as having happened on the day before the martyrdom of the widow. Here, again, the Acta have disarranged the narrative.¹⁾ In the Book of the Himyarites the death of the freeborn men in general and that of Hārith and 'Arbai(?) are told of in Chapters XVIII and XIX respectively, and the latter dated Sunday, i. e. the day before that on which the freeborn women were killed. Unfortunately, of Chapter XVIII nothing remains in the fragments of the Book of the Himyarites. Of Chapter XIX are preserved the last lines of the main martyrology and the date (p. 23^a), and, besides this, the description of the interment of the bodies and the list of the names of the martyrs. These last two portions of the chapter, though of special interest in themselves, have no equivalents in the Acta and therefore are of no importance here. The final lines of the main martyrology contain nothing but the last words of the martyr (Hārith or 'Arbai [?]) and the statement that he was decapitated.

We do not know therefore if the much discussed place-name Ὠβεδιανός (Wadi), given by the Acta (§ 20, p. 736F) to the place where the martyrs were put to death, has occurred also in the Book of the Himyarites. Still there is obviously some inconsistency between the two relations as to the localities. In the Acta the men were martyred in this place Ὠβεδιανός (l. l.) and it seems to follow from a passage at the beginning of § 9 (p. 729F) that the women had been killed on the same spot. They were all interred there, as far as they were interred at all. In the Book of the Himyarites the women were massacred on the spot where their men had been killed, a place inside the wall of the town of Najrān. But their bodies afterwards were dragged out of the town and buried in a grave, or in graves, in a "ḥandaq" (p. 30^a, 14)

¹⁾ The same is the case with the narrative of §§ 6, 8–9; the chief points of incoherence are so obvious that I do not think it necessary to dwell in detail on them.

or φόσσαντον (p. 44^a, 10) outside the wall, which, I think, in the idea of the author, was nothing but the moat before the wall. Where the bodies of the men were interred is not said in the fragments but most likely, judging by certain indications, it was not in the same place as the women. Obviously the differences between the two relations as to the details here treated depend upon the carelessness of the redactor of the Acta.

Paragraphs 21 and 22 tell the story of a woman, who, with her little son, was amongst the spectators at the execution of Hārith, and was seized as a victim. The boy at first ran to the king to seek release for his mother from the executioners, but seeing his mistake he rejected all the lures of the king, who even proposed to adopt him, bit the king in the leg to get free and threw himself into the pit filled with fire where his mother was cast. There are no remains of this story in the fragments of the Book of the Himyarites, and it is not easy to find out, in the Index, a chapter that reasonably could have told it. Perhaps one might suggest Chapter XXVI, if the fragmentary heading means that the woman there mentioned was present at the death of Hārith. It is all the more unfortunate that we are not able to state if this episode was told also in the Book of the Himyarites—and how it was told, if it was — as it is the only instance, in the Christian traditions of the persecution in Najrān, of a pit filled with fire, that could be brought into relation with the famous اخدود of Sura LXXXV, 4 in the Koran. In the letter of Simeon the woman is beheaded but the boy is spared. And, later, Joh. of Ephesus¹⁾ states that he himself has frequently met with him in Constantinople.

Before leaving this episode it is to be noted, however, that the list of martyrs, in Chapter XIX (p. 25^a, 19ff.), speaks of a certain Aswar(?), son of Nu'mān, whom the king would make his adoptive son but who declined and was killed. And in another connection, Chapter XVI (p. 21^a, 18ff.), the Book tells of a young man, Abraham, who threw himself in the flames. But I do not think that these martyrs and their deeds have much to do with the story of the woman and her little son, a boy of four or five years of age, as told in the Acta.

Paragraph 23 of the Acta states that all Christian children were gathered and distributed as slaves amongst the notables of the king. Further it tells of a prodigy, a mighty glow of a fire, that was seen

¹⁾ See J. S. Assemani, *Bibliotheca orientalis*, vol. I, p. 380.

on the sky when the Jewish king was to leave Najrān. Nothing corresponding to this is to be found in the fragments of the Book of the Himyarites. For the light spoken of in p. 20^b, 1ff. is, though also of a supernatural origin, not to be compared with this.

Paragraph 24 is a hymn in honour of Najrān obviously placed here as the closing of the story of the Martyrs in conformity with an established usage in such cases. And, really, it is known that the Armenian version of the Acta ends with what is here told in § 23. This closing hymn certainly has much contributed to the popularity of the idea that the following portions of the Acta originally did not belong to this work. In fact these following portions, more political and profane, seem rather out of place after that hymn.

But of such a hymn there are not the slightest traces in the Book of the Himyarites. Moreover, it would obviously contrast with the idea and plan of that work. So much the more are the following chapters, telling of the vengeance wrought on the Jews by the Abyssinians, appropriate in the Book of the Himyarites. They form together with the first seven chapters of the book the broad frame in which the stories of the martyrs have had their place as episodes, if ever so significant episodes, of the whole. This fact, now, accounts also for the corresponding portions of the Acta. They are there, just as they are in the Book of the Himyarites, and because they are in the Book of the Himyarites. Still the case is not altogether the same. The Book of the Himyarites is a historical work with the stories of the martyrs as its central and essential portion. The Acta are acts of Martyrs with a historical introduction and a historical epilogue of a marked edificatory character. By this modification of the aim of the work the politico-historical epilogue, which, moreover, is of a considerable length, gives the impression of something heterogeneous, that originally did not belong to this work. And this impression is much intensified by the hymn to Najrān in § 24. In fact, the impression made by these two sorts of epilogue is so strange that I think the later and secondary one, *i. e.* the hymn, cannot have been added but to a shortened recension of the Acta, such as is known from the Armenian version just referred to. Once introduced at the end of such an abridged form the hymn has more easily found its way also into the fuller recension.

I shall now proceed to compare these last paragraphs of the Acta with the corresponding portions of the Book of the Himyarites.

Unfortunately not very much remains of these portions of the Book and what remains is often in a very fragmentary condition.

Paragraphs 25 and 26 of the Acta take us to the camp of the Lakhmid Prince Mundhar at Ramla, in the Syrian desert, where we meet with an embassy from the Emperor in Byzantium, Justinus, witness a controversy between the members of this embassy, who are Monophysites, on one side, and a Nestorian, Silas, who also is present there, on the other side, and hear of the famous letter that the Jewish King of the Himyarites has just sent to Mundhar. The only equivalent to this in the fragments of the Book of the Himyarites is the indication in the Index that Chapter XXV has communicated the contents of a letter from Masrūq to Mundhar. Nothing remains of that chapter.

The next paragraphs (§§ 27, 28) deal with the measures taken by the Emperor Justinus and the bishop in Alexandria, Timotheus, to induce the King of Abyssinia to hasten to the succour of the Christians in the land of the Himyarites. In spite of the defective state in which we know the Book of the Himyarites it is fairly sure that that Book has told nothing of any such measures. Already from the headings of the chapters in the Index it is clear enough that the Christian Himyarites themselves have informed the Abyssinians of the insurrection of Masrūq. And there is every probability, to judge from many indications, that the Emperor, and perhaps even the Bishop of Alexandria, were never mentioned in the Book of the Himyarites.

In § 29 the Acta describe how ships were brought together and other measures taken for the war, how the King Elesbaas went to the church before departing to the war, quoting (§ 30) the prayer that he said there,¹⁾ and (§ 31) how he visited a Greek holy man, Zonenos. It is very improbable that the Book of the Himyarites ever contained anything of that kind.

It is true that what the headings of the chapters mention as their contents is not to be taken too rigorously. For instance, Chapter VII should, according to its rubric, deal with the departure of the Abyssinians from the land of the Himyarites. Yet the last lines, the only ones remaining, of this chapter (p. 7^a) tell how the Jewish rebel by false promises prevails upon the Abyssinian garrison in Zafār to surrender the town.

¹⁾ It is this prayer, in the Ethiopian version of the Acta, but enlarged by additions of the same kind, that is given in a Berlin Geez Ms. (Peterm. II Nachtr. 41, ff. 1—7) as a separate work under the heading "Prayer of King Kaleb."

Thus this chapter has dealt not only with the departure of the Abyssinians but also with the growing insurrection, and goes on to tell how Masrūq had collected troops and grown strong enough to take the chance of an attack upon the chief stronghold of the Abyssinians.

But even if there have been somewhere, for instance in Chapter XL or XLI, some notices as to the preparations for the war, they have certainly been rather short, and many particulars in the relation of the *Acta* are entirely incompatible with the spirit of the Book of the Himyarites. I refer, for instance, to such particulars as those given in the story of the iron chains with which the Jewish king blocked up the sea at Bab el Mandeb. Fantastical constructions of that kind are unknown to the Book of the Himyarites. Thus, probably, the Book of the Himyarites has told of the whole of the Abyssinian expedition in a somewhat different manner. It may be that the two addresses in Chapters XLI and XLII, that of the Abyssinian king and that of his general, are to be looked at as indications that the Abyssinians landed at two different places on the coast, just as is stated in *Acta* (§ 34). But this of course is uncertain. It cannot even be said with certainty to which chapter the description of the battle preserved in the fragments XIX and XX (p. 45f.) properly belongs. I think it probable that it is a portion of Chapter XLII, but it may very possibly form part of Chapter XLI, or perhaps of Chapter XXXVIII. It is obvious, however, that the death of the Jewish King has been related in another way in the Book of the Himyarites than in the *Acta*. According to the *Acta* he was made a prisoner and afterwards cut down by the Abyssinian King. According to the Book of the Himyarites he was slain in the battle by an Abyssinian warrior, and fell (?) into the sea. Certainly, in the Book of the Himyarites, it came to pass without a voice from heaven and other such miracles out of the stock-in-trade of the martyriologies which the *Acta* cannot dispense with.

Paragraph 38 of the *Acta* describes how order was restored in the country and the churches rebuilt. The same is told of in the Book of the Himyarites, Chap. XLIV, XLVI–XLVIII, in different places, as e. g. pp. 49, 53, 56. Even here there is no trace of an application, on the part of the Abyssinians, to the Emperor Justinus or to the Bishop of Alexandria. But the Bishop Euprepios of Abyssinia is spoken of as the highest ecclesiastical authority and Abyssinian priests are appointed to the new churches. Nothing is said about a son of Ḥārith as appointed governor in Najrān; the name of the Himyarite made

king of the land was certainly not Abraham¹⁾ (or Abraha), and he was not already, before his appointment, as the Acta think, *χριστιανικώτατος*, but had first to be baptized. Nor were, as in the Acta, Abyssinian troops left behind with the new king and "the holy bishop." Troops were left, of course, to look after the Abyssinian interests, and Abyssinian notables were left with them, but no bishop.

Finally the Acta, in § 39, relate how the victorious King Elesbaas, having returned to Abyssinia, abdicated the throne and became a monk so holy that no layman ventured to address him in all his life. It is scarcely necessary to point out that the Book of the Himyarites knows nothing of such a legendary abdication.

*

The preceding review of the contents of the Acta as compared with that of the Book of the Himyarites places beyond doubt that there is, notwithstanding all differences, a close connection between the two works. Even just the last portions, where the narratives differ in nearly every detail as well as in the political orientation, show perhaps better than anything this connection. The course of the events is throughout the same in them both and these two works, moreover, are the only ones known that relate them at all. What differs is the general view of the writers and the scope of their works. The Acta are a martyrology and their author knows what ingredients are needed for a work of that kind. He adopts from his source what he thinks fit for his scope and rejects what he has no use for; the tyrant and the martyrs he makes speak so as to agree with his idea as to how the actors in a martyrology ought to speak, in this and similar details caring very little for exact reproduction of what he has found in his source. His aim is to glorify his hero and to impress his readers, and he uses the means he thinks fit for that aim. For this purpose he exaggerates the data given in his source and adds new ones; he exercises his imagination to find out new and unheard of cruelties; miracles manifest the interest that heaven takes in the struggle of the martyrs, and, finally, by a supernatural intervention, the tyrant is struck by judgment. The part in the events ascribed to the Emperor seems to indicate that the author was a Greek, or, at least, influenced by Greek views.

¹⁾ See below, p. lxii sq.

Also the author of the Book of the Himyarites was full of zeal for the church and for the faith, and wrote his work in honour of the martyrs. But it was not his plan to write a martyrology on a model already fixed long before, a new variant of a well-known and widely spread type. He would in no wise fail to derive from the events he related the moral that could serve to edify his co-religionists and to strengthen them against trials to come. Chapter XLIX, with its monotonous and insipid exposition, that incessantly follows a model hackneyed in Syriac literature and used already in Chap. XLIII, confirms this sufficiently. It is, however, obvious that, despite all this, his principal aim was to give a full historical record of what had happened, not, in the first place, an edifying tract caring little for the historical particulars, nor a novel "*in majorem dei gloriam*". The more I have studied the work the more it has given me the impression that the author was anxious to relate what he had heard and found trustworthy, and believed himself to have really taken place. But in stating this I have said nothing, yet, as to the objective historical value of the work. It will be examined later on.

It is to be added only that, as pointed out already, the Book of the Himyarites has told nothing, judging from the fragments, about an influence exercised by the Emperor Justinus and Byzantium upon the events that it relates. If, then, the difference in aim and tendency accounts for most of the differences between the two works in plan and in details, the general agreement between them in both respects appears the more prominent and points unmistakably to an original connection. I have already pointed out how this connection is to be considered. It does not suffice to state a common source for both works; it is obvious, in my view, that the Book of the Himyarites is the main source and that the Acta are composed out of extracts from that work, more or less altered and adapted for the purpose. It is scarcely necessary to state that the relation cannot possibly be the inverse one, that is to say, the Acta cannot be the original work and the Book of the Himyarites an amplified and enlarged edition. The internal evidence is quite conclusive in this respect. The narrative of the Book of the Himyarites bears in no single point the characteristics of an amplification but the Acta show in many cases—some of which have been pointed out above—the unmistakable features of a secondary and rigorously shortened compendium.

It remains to consider the relation that the Book of the Himyarites

and the Letter of Simeon of Bēth Arshām hold to each other. The close agreement as to the contents between this Letter and the Acta is generally admitted; it is this agreement that has made many scholars think the Letter to be the principal source of the first, martyrological, part of the Acta. Thus it is a matter of course, after what has just been explained, that the contents of the Letter are to be found, in so far as they concern the incidents in Yaman, also in the Book of the Himyarites, and indeed the two works agree closely as to these facts. It is not necessary, therefore to dwell longer on this agreement nor is there any special interest in the cases where the Acta differ from both the Letter and the Book. As a rule the explanation of such cases will be found in the freedom wherewith the author, or rather the compiler, of the Acta deals with his source or sources, remodelling them and adding to them what he thinks fit to add. By far more interesting are cases where a disagreement between the two works, the Book and the Letter, can be viewed as evidence of their being independent the one of the other. Such cases are, however, rare and not very conclusive. The following are worthy of notice:

1. In the Letter (p. 502, 20) the Jewish king declares that he has made the church in Zafār a synagogue; in the Book it is burnt down.
2. The speech that the rich widow, in the Letter named 𐩦𐩣𐩪𐩨 and 𐩦𐩣𐩪𐩨,¹⁾ addresses to the women of Najrān agrees in the version given in the Letter fairly well with that related in the Acta, but not with the version in the Book. A manifest coincidence between the two first-mentioned versions against the Book is the passage speaking of the wedding-day as the day of rejoicing for a woman (see Letter, p. 504 f., Acta, § 11, p. 732D).
3. Another coincidence between the Letter and the Acta against the Book is the notice (Letter, p. 506, 12–13, Acta, § 11, p. 732D) that the king ordered the widows' hair to be dishevelled. In the Book this detail is not found and the woman herself lets down her hair immediately before the execution.
4. In the Letter (p. 506 at the bottom), as in Acta § 14 (p. 733B), the king having ordered this woman and her daughters to be executed expressed his regret, considering the extraordinary beauty of these women, at being forced to this step. In the Book of the Himyarites

¹⁾ Cf. Guidi op. cit., p. 493, note 3.

this detail is lacking and the beauty of the widow, even if mentioned, is not made nearly so much of as in the other works.

5. The little girl, according to the Letter, as in the Acta (cf. above p. xxx), spits in the face of the king, and not only, as in the Book, towards the king.

Of the story of Hārith (Arethas) hardly anything remains in the fragments and it is therefore impossible to know if it was told there in the same manner as in the Letter. As to the name of the place where he was executed, the Wadi, see above (p. xxxi). In the Letter (p. 509, l. 19) Hārith says before the king that Najrān certainly had been in the position to endure a siege, "for there was no want of anything at all." But when the men of Najrān, in the Book of the Himyarites (p. 10^b), discuss the answer to be given to Masrūq, when he had summoned them to surrender, it is taken for granted that the town, if it should come to a siege, would succumb for want of food. It is obvious however that these two statements, even if seemingly contradictory, by no means necessarily imply that the two works told the events in a contradictory way, the general situation being quite different in the two cases.

As already stated above (p. xxxii) it is uncertain if the Book of the Himyarites has ever told the story of the woman whose little son first applied to the tyrant king for help, and afterwards bit him in the leg to get free, and threw himself into the fire where his mother had just been cast. Still it is worth observing in this connection that the Letter, which tells the story, says nothing of the pit filled with fire (cf. above l. 1.).

These few particulars, materially insignificant as they are, certainly do not suffice to establish the Letter's literary independence of the Book. They are more interesting in another respect as showing, by the agreement of the Acta with the Letter against the Book, that the Letter also is to be reckoned amongst the sources of the Acta along with the Book. As to the literary relation between the Letter and the Book, the difference in plan and composition affords evidence that I consider more conclusive.

The composition of the Letter must, from a literary point of view, be characterized as a rather miserable one. It was the plan of the writer first to reproduce a letter from the Jewish king in the land of the Himyarites to Mundhar in Hīrtha dē Na'mān, that related the incidents that had just taken place in Najrān, and then to amplify this relation

by adding the information he himself had gathered. This plan would make the same incidents to be related in two different places of the author's composition. But unfortunately the author has not carried out even this plan with the consistency required. He has not resisted the temptation, even in the alleged writing from the Jewish king, to insert part of the information that he had gathered himself from other sources. In this way he has succeeded in presenting, as a letter from the king, a writing that no one could easily accept as authentic. It does the author credit perhaps, when he states, in the course of the writing he pretends to reproduce, that such or such a detail, that has just been told of, in reality was not found in that writing, but is added by himself. But it contributes very little to the clearness and the plan of his composition, which was already poorly enough equipped in that respect.

This peculiar plan, or rather this want of plan, makes it impossible to think that the Letter was dependent on the Book of the Himyarites. No one, however poor a writer he was, could succeed in composing such a confused account while using the clear and explicit Book of the Himyarites as his basis. Indeed this strange and seemingly careless composition finds a natural explanation only if we assume, with Nöldeke and Guidi, that the Letter really is what it pretends to be, a hasty account, composed under the fresh influence of agitating news, with the practical aim of stimulating public opinion to set out for the relief of the oppressed Christians in Yaman.

On the other hand it would be unreasonable to suppose the Book of the Himyarites to be dependent on the Letter. The Book disposes of much more detailed and, in all respects, much fuller matter than the Letter does. Thus it would explain nothing, to suggest that the author of the Book had gathered his knowledge of the very incidents told of in the Letter from the Letter and all the remaining similar matter from another, and unknown, source.

This being the case the agreement between the Letter and the Book of the Himyarites finds its explanation only if we suppose them to have used as chief source the same oral account. From this oral account, then, the author of the Letter has chosen out some few significant particulars and incorporated them in the message that he hastened to send out to draw the attention of Christendom to the persecution that was going on in South Arabia. Again the author of the Book of the Himyarites has gathered all the information within reach in this way, and afterwards amplified it by further inquiry in order

to put his narrative of the persecution and of the deeds of the martyrs in its proper historical connections, and to work it out in a literary way. The author of the Letter knows nothing of what happened after the death of the martyrs, the author of the Book is well informed also as to the Abyssinian expedition that brought punishment on the persecutors about two years later. The aim of the author of the Letter is, by an immediate protest, to call for help on behalf of his oppressed co-religionists, while the author of the Book writes after the settlement of the troubles, for the information and edification of his readers.

THE PROFANE TRADITION

The relation between the Letter of Simeon and the Book of the Himyarites is characterized by the preceding exposition. As to the Acta it is evident, I think, that their principal source was the Book of the Himyarites, although the Letter of Simeon also has exercised a certain influence, perhaps a determinative one, upon their representation of the main martyrdoms. Still these two do not constitute the only sources of the Acta. Neither of them has ascribed to the Emperor Justinus, as do the Acta, any influence upon the events. And whence come to the Acta (§ 29) the particulars that point to an intimate acquaintance with ports and navigation on the Red Sea? And how is it that the Acta call the two adversaries Elesbaas and Dunaas, while the Book of the Himyarites knows them under the names Kāleb and Masrūq, and the Letter mentions them without names?

To these questions no full and definite answer can be given. The very source from which the Acta have derived those particulars is not known and probably exists no more. Still there can be but little doubt as to the direction in which it should be sought for. The Byzantine historiographers, Procopios, Cosmas Indicopleustes, Malalas, and later compilers, know, too, of religious troubles in South Arabia and of war or wars between the Abyssinians and the Himyarites in the 6th century. In their relations we now, in fact, see the Emperor of Byzantium intervening in the troubles of those remote tracts, and we are informed, on very plausible grounds, why he did so. Cosmas, himself, once stayed in Adulis, and saw there the preparations for an Abyssinian expedition to the land of the Himyarites. Procopios is well informed as to the Red Sea and the navigation there, and Nonosos,

once sent by the Emperor as his legate to the King of Abyssinia, likewise furnishes information about these parts of the world for which we should search in vain in Abyssinian or Syrian authors. According to Cosmas the name of the Abyssinian king is Ἑλλατζβάας simplified by Malalas to Ἑλέσβοας and obviously the same as the Ἑλεσβάς or Ἑλεσβάν of the Acta. Possibly the same name is meant by the form Ἑλλησθεαῖος of Procopios.

These somewhat vague indications are the only answer that can be given to the questions just raised. For, while, for instance, the works mentioned can account for the name of the Abyssinian king in the Acta, they cannot do so for the name of his adversary, the Himyarite Δουναάς. Neither Cosmas nor Procopios mentions him at all. In Malalas we meet, though in another connexion, a Himyaritic king Δίμνος, whom John of Asia calls Dimiun (دیمیون) and Theophanes Δαμιανός, but it would be a very risky thing to identify this name with the name Δουναάς of the Acta. It would be the more so, as the Abyssinian king mentioned in connexion with this Dimnos is not Elesbaas but another, nameless in Malalas, Aidug in John of Asia, Adad in Theophanes.

It is obvious then that we can point out no definite Greek work as the source from which the compiler of the Acta has derived those particulars of his work which he has not gathered from the Book of the Himyarites nor from the Letter of Simeon. Still there is little doubt that such a source has influenced his work. It has been based chiefly upon the Book of the Himyarites; the Letter has been of use specially in selecting and shortening the properly martyrological portions; while a Greek tradition, parallel, partially at least, with the Syriac tradition has furnished him with certain supplementary information, and made him change the names of the two kings, Kaleb and Masrūq, for names more current amongst the Greeks.

Nowadays we know that Kaleb was really the name of the Abyssinian king Ella-Aṣbeḥa (Elesbaas).¹⁾ And as to the name Masrūq it was long ago known as a name for the persecutor by its occurrence in the introductory note to the well-known hymn of John Psaltes, that is to be dated about A. D. 600.²⁾ As long as it stood in that note

¹⁾ Kaleb therefore is his name also in the Geez translation of the Acta; see further W. Fell in ZDMG vol. 35 (1881), p. 19, and F. M. E. Pereira, *Historia dos martyres de Nagran* (Lisboa 1899), p. XLV sqq.

²⁾ See *Patrologia Orientalis* vol. VI, p. 5, vol. XIV, p. 299 and Baumstark in *Oriens christianus*, N. S. I, p. 334.

alone, one was certainly compelled to doubt its authenticity, or simply assume it to be a mistake. It received afterwards a noteworthy confirmation from a highly interesting notice in the *Histoire Nestorienne* published by Msgr. Addai Scher.¹⁾ By the discovery of the Book of the Himyarites, finally, it has attained a real importance. Of course the hymn with its introductory note is too short to justify a decisive conclusion as to its dependence on, or independence of, the Book of the Himyarites. The probability is, however, judging from the names Hārith and Masrūq,²⁾ that it depends on the Book. Certainly, at all events, it is not dependent on the Acta.

THE MUHAMMADAN TRADITION

The distinction made above between the ecclesiastical and the profane traditions of the Abyssinian-Himyaritic struggles will, under a close examination, turn out to be a distinction, broadly speaking, between (originally) Syriac and (originally) Greek tradition. Along with these ranks the Arabic (Muhammadan) tradition as, so it seems at the first glance, something of its own. It remains to consider the relation the Book of the Himyarites bears to this tradition. Under a critical examination the peculiar character of the Muhammedan tradition will show itself to consist especially in the vivid, often, it is true, rather fantastic description, and in the confidence with which it reports without hesitation on all particulars and—of course—tells you the names of most of the characters and often also of their fathers and grandfathers and other relations. All these details and embellishments, which in themselves, of course, deserve no credit, stripped off, the oldest Arabic tradition on the persecution in Yaman and the first Abyssinian occupation of that land, as told by Ibn Ishaq and preserved by Ibn Hishām and Ṭabarī,³⁾ consists chiefly of the following facts, to which parallels can be found in the contents of the Book of the Himyarites.

Christianity was introduced in Najrān by a stranger, Faimiun, or by Abdallah b. ath-Thāmir, who had received it from a stranger. The last king of the Himyarites was Dhū-Nuwās, who had, together with his people, adopted Judaism. He is said to have assumed the name

1) *Patrologia Orientalis*, vol. V, p. 330 sq., cf. below, p. xlix.

2) See below, p. lx, and cf. also p. lxii note 1).

3) See above, p. xxv.

Joseph. This king, whose capital was Sanʿā, went with his army against Najrān and called upon its inhabitants to adopt Judaism. As they refused "he digged for them the trench" (الآخذود), see above, p. xxxii), burned them, slew them with the sword and mutilated them, and killed in all nearly 20,000 of them. Amongst these was also, according to one version, Abdallah b. ath-Thāmir; according to another he had been put to death previously. A man, Daus Dhū-Thaʿlabān by name (according to others bearing the name Ḥayyān or Jabbār b. Faḍl), escaped, betook himself to the Emperor in Byzantium and implored his help against Dhū-Nuwās. The distance not allowing the Emperor to intervene directly, the man was sent with the recommendation of the Emperor to the King of Abyssinia who dispatched an army under Ariat—the famous Abraha Ashram too went with the army—against the Himyarites, who were beaten. Thereupon Dhū-Nuwās threw himself on horseback into the sea. Ariat laid waste everything in the land in which he remained as governor. What thereafter happened is without interest here.

Another version, given by the famous Ibn al-Kalbī¹⁾, presents certain, though not very important, variants. Dhū-Nuwās marched, it is true, against Najrān out of zeal for Judaism. But the cause was an outrage by the Christians there upon a Jew, whose name was Daus b. Thaʿlabān. A man, not mentioned by name, fled from Najrān directly to the King of Abyssinia and implored his help. The King was willing to come to the assistance of the Christians but could do nothing till the Emperor had sent the number of ships required for the transport of the troops. By an artifice Dhū-Nuwās succeeded in cutting down the victorious Abyssinians, whose leader is not named, but a fresh army was sent out under two leaders, one of whom was the famous Abraha Ashram. The Himyarites were beaten, Dhū-Nuwās threw himself into the sea, and Abraha remained as king in Sanʿā. Ariat makes his first appearance on a subsequent occasion.

These Arabic narratives have enjoyed a certain credit amongst the scholars. I, for my part, must confess not to be able to see in them anything that suggests an independent Muhammadan tradition of historical value. The Jewish King, the Christians in Najrān, the Emperor and the King of Abyssinia, the ships, the war, or the wars, against the Himyarites, the defeat of the Jewish King and his death, the devastation and conquest of Yaman—all these points are owed, in my opinion, to a

¹⁾ Ṭabari loc. laud., inserted in the former relation, viz. pp. 920, 19–926, 11. 929, 15–930, 14.

relation already well known—that of the Acta. One single point suggests the narrative of the Book of the Himyarites, viz. the death of the Jewish King in the sea.¹⁾ In the Muhammadan tradition his death in the sea is the more striking as the battle is not spoken of as taking place on the sea, or on the sea-shore. In one version, that of Ibn al-Kalbī, the battle is fought by Ṣanʿā and from there(!) the king takes the long way to the coast in order to throw himself into the waves. In the Acta he is killed by the Abyssinian King after having been captured. A variant of the death in the sea is met with also in the final note of the Letter of Simeon in the edition of Guidi (p. 515). Nothing in all this seems to me original and independent, apart from the names given to the characters, and the anachronism which makes Ṣanʿā the capital of the Himyarites instead of Ẓafār, which was the capital according to the Acta, in accordance with the Book.

Professor Guidi (loc. laud., p. 476 sq.) has well observed that the Muhammadan historians gathered, as a rule, their knowledge of Christianity and Byzantium in pre-Muhammadan times from Syriac sources, or, through Syrians, from Greek authors. Much the same, no doubt, holds true in the case of the early Christianity in South Arabia. The tradition of the Syriac and Greek churches has furnished the Muhammadan story-tellers with the principal features of their narrative; confusion with other legends and free-working imagination have done the rest. In fact even in the traditions just accounted for there are features that possibly are to be explained as marks of such legends. It is remarkable that the name Ḥayyān should be met with in one of those traditions. According to one tradition, current in the old Syriac church, Ḥayyān was the name of a tradesman from Najrān, who first introduced Christianity in the land of the Himyarites (see below, p. xlix sq.). If it is not by mere chance, therefore, that this name occurs here the reason for its doing so may possibly be that very circumstance. It is of no importance in this case that in the Islamic tradition the name is not given to the actual man who introduced Christianity in Najrān. In the life of legends it is a common feature that the names of the different actors are interchanged; an instance at hand presents the name Daus, in itself a good South-Arabian name, that occurs in the one tradition as the name of a Christian who fled to the Emperor for help,

¹⁾ Another is perhaps the name Kāleb, preserved as the name of an Abyssinian general in the commentary on the Himyaritic Qasidah, cf. C. Conti Rossini, RSO vol. ix, p. 429.

in the other as the name of a Jew whose sons were slain by the Christians, the very incident which provoked the persecutions.

In the tradition of Ibn al-Kalbī, according to which the King of Abyssinia sends to the Emperor for ships, it is told that the Najrānite who went to the King for help brought with him a book, containing the Gospels, that had been damaged by fire. It is, of course, to be understood that the damage was caused by the Jewish persecutors, the book thus serving as an obvious evidence of the persecution.¹⁾ The King in his turn, sent the book to the Emperor. I doubt whether this particular is of Muhammadan, not to say South-Arabian, origin; it seems to me much more probable that it is derived from some ecclesiastical legend. Another instance is a legend of the death of Abdallah b. ath-Thāmir. According to this legend the king of Najrān wished to kill Abdallah, but, as Abdallah, himself, had foretold, he was not able to do so, either by precipitating him from a high mountain, or by throwing him into a lake. But when the king himself had pronounced the confession of Abdallah he easily killed him with a stick he had in his hand. It is true he died himself also in the same moment. This story shows, in my opinion, too close an affinity with stories known from the later martyrological literature not to be in fact derived from such a source.²⁾

The later Muhammadan historians gathered new information even from sources unknown to us. But there is nothing that makes it probable that they ever had at their disposal an indigenous and authentic tradition. More interesting and more important would be the famous verses in the Koran (Sura LXXXV, 4 sq.) on the people of the pit, if these verses really allude to the events in Najrān. In this case they would constitute a very remarkable proof that a legend out of the Martyrology of the Najrānians was known in Arabia already at the beginning of the 7th century. It is, however, by no means beyond doubt that this is their bearing. It has been observed already (cf. above, p. xxxii) that a pit filled with fire is no very prominent feature in the narrative of the Acta, and perhaps had no place at all in the Book of the Himyarites. Further-

¹⁾ *Kitāb al-aghānī* (vol. 16, p. VI, cf. vol. 20, p. A), speaking of Dhū-Nuwās, expressly states *وَحَرَقَ الْأَنْجِيلَ*.

²⁾ Another instance, though not strictly belonging here, is the story of the little child of seven months, that suddenly, by a miracle, could speak and exhorted its mother to throw herself in the fire—a story known only in the Muhammadan tradition of the incidents in Najrān and from this tradition taken over in the Geez translation of the Acta. There can not be much doubt as to its Christian character.

more the Arabic word *اخذود* scarcely is, from an etymological point of view, the exact word that one would have expected for a pit or hollow. It implies a long trench, a furrow, and I freely confess that I should like to find out how to use it in this sense even in the passage in question.¹⁾ This, however, is of no great importance here, as all Muhammadan interpreters agree in the traditional acceptation of the word. More important is it to observe that even the Muhammadan interpreters do not agree, at least not unanimously, in referring this passage to the story of the martyrs in Najrān. This, no doubt, is the interpretation preferred by the majority. But at least two others have been set forth. Ṭabarī, in his great commentary on the Koran,²⁾ reproduces a tradition according to which these verses allude to an incident amongst the Parsees (*المجوس*) and, on the following page, another, according to which they bear on "Daniel and his men" or, rather, those who cast the men into the furnace. O. Loth, who has discussed this question at length in an excellent paper,³⁾ sees in other traditions given by Ṭabarī the influence of the Martyrology of Saint George. Be that as it may, considering those varying interpretations one can hardly cite the Koran LXXX, 4 sq. as proving that the story of the martyrs of Najrān was known to Muhammad. Loth thinks that the Muhammadans had learnt of the persecution in Najrān only from the Najrānites who were exiled to Irāq in the days of Omar. As observed already, I think more probable that they had all their knowledge in this case from the Greek or Syriac tradition. If there has been preserved any indigenous South-Arabian relation at all of the persecution in Najrān it has been preserved in the Book of the Himyarites, not in the Muhammadan tradition.

REMARKS ON THE NARRATIVE OF THE BOOK OF THE HIMYARITES

The Book of the Himyarites is by far the broadest and most detailed account of the incidents here in question that is known to us. The preceding examination shows that it is also the oldest one next to the Letter of Simeon, of which, though dealing with the same events in a nearly identical way, it still is, from a literary point of view, quite independent. At this result one arrives chiefly by seeing that the other representations, for the main part of their narrative, depend on

¹⁾ For another interpretation cf. E. Glaser, *Zwei Inschriften*, p. 43, note 5.

²⁾ Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr al-qor'ān* (edition Bulaq 1329) vol. 30, p. ٨٤.

³⁾ See *ZDMG* vol. 35 (1881), p. 610–622.

the Book of the Himyarites. It remains to dwell shortly on the narrative of the Book of the Himyarites itself, especially in such particulars as have not been embodied in the later literature, the stress being laid, for obvious reasons, on not strictly martyrological matters.

It has already been observed (see above, p. xxxivf.) that it is not always possible from the headings of chapters in the Index to form any idea of the real contents of the chapters, much less even to guess what interesting information may possibly have found an incidental place there. A short remark made in passing in a martyrology might easily be more important to us than all the rest of the narrative. But apart from such chances, the Index in itself shows that an abundance of information about South-Arabian affairs has been lost with the missing portions of the Book of the Himyarites.

As to the contents of the first chapter we are in doubt owing to the fragmentary state of its heading in the Index. The heading of the next chapter makes it not very probable that the first one treated of the heathen Himyarites and their religion. It is possible that it was devoted to the Jews and their beliefs.

The following two chapters (Chap. II and III) have dealt respectively with Judaism and Christianity, which was just beginning, at that time, to penetrate into the land of the Himyarites. Needless to say, it would have been of great interest to learn the idea the author had formed on these subjects. We have got no reliable information on any of them; even of the traditions as to them that were current in old times we know very little. For the matter of Judaism, to dwell first on that question, the fragments preserved do not give even a hint as to its first appearance in the land.¹⁾ In the narrative of the Book of the Himyarites the Jews are the ruling part of the people. Jews and heathens seem to go side by side against the Christians, but the king and other acting persons are Jews, and the martyrs are urged, not only to deny Christ, but to become Jews. It is not expressly stated, it is true, in the heading of Chapter IV, that the persecution there mentioned was

¹⁾ The Geez version of the Acta gives some particulars in this respect that not are to be found in the Greek text; see Pereira, *Historia dos Martyres de Nagra*, p. 80. It is, however, impossible to say if they are the author's free constructions or borrowed from the Book of the Himyarites. Yet the description, in this version (*loc. laud.*), of the negligence of the Jews in matters of religion is in full harmony with the expression "badness of their faith" of the fragmentary heading of Chapter I (Syriac text, p. 3b, 3), which may bear on the Jews. For other old traditions as to the introduction of Judaism see Ibn Hishām, pp. 1v f., Ṭabari I, pp. 91 ff.

also conducted by Jews. But when the Martyr Ḥabṣa (p. 32^b) before the Jewish king boasts of her father Ḥayyān having set on fire, in his day, the synagogue(s) of the Jews, it is a sufficient proof of earlier conflicts between the two religions. The Christians of course had an opportunity of outraging in connection with the first Abyssinian expedition told of in Chapter V. But, previously too, such an opportunity may have offered itself, for instance before the persecution just mentioned. Were we informed as to the age in which Bishop Thomas, mentioned in the heading of Chapter IV, lived, we should be able perhaps to fix approximatively the date also of certain other events (see further below, p. 1 sq.).

It is the same martyr Ḥabṣa who, by the way, helps us to guess what the Book of the Himyarites may have told its readers about the first preaching of Christianity in the land of the Himyarites. In the passage cited above, she states that a certain Ḥayyān, not her father this time, but her grandfather, was the person "by whom God first sowed Christianity in our land."¹) In itself this notice does not say very much. But a lucky chance aids us to bring it into relief, to a certain extent. In the Nestorian Chronicle from Saard,²) that has been edited by Addai Scher³) and was compiled, probably, shortly after the year 1036 of our era,⁴) is to be found (part I, p. 218 sq.) the following passage:

"Notice on the christening of the people of Najrān.

In the land of Najrān of Yaman there was, in the days of Jazdegerd, a tradesman, well-known in his country, whose name was Ḥayyān.⁵) He went to Constantinople on business and returned to his country. Then he planned to go to Persia and passed through al-Ḥira. There he frequented the society of the Christians and learned their religion. So he was baptized there and remained in that place some time. Then he returned to his country and exhorted the people to adopt his faith, and made his family Christians, as well as a number of the people in

1) The author himself has stated this (p. 31 a, 11 sq.) referring to what was said already in the introductory chapters of the Book, now missing.

2) Such was, some years ago at least, the official way of spelling the name, for instance in postmarks. I prefer this to the different efforts made to represent the pronunciation, such as Söörd, Séert and others.

3) See *Patrologia Orientalis* vol. IV, V and VII.

4) Cf. Seybold in *ZDMG* vol. 66 (1912), p. 743.

5) The text has Ḥannān, which, as Prof. Sachau has remarked already, may as well be read Ḥayyān; cf. E. Sachau, *Zur Ausbreitung des Christentums in Asien* (Abh. d. Preuß. Ak. d. Wissenschaften, 1919, Phil.-Hist. Kl., No. 1), p. 68, note 2.

this part of the country. And certain persons attached themselves to him and aided him to convert to Christianity the people in the Land of the Himyarites and the adjacent tracts of Abyssinia. In later times there reigned over this country a Jewish king, whose name was Masrūq. His mother was a Jewess, of the inhabitants of Nisibis, who had been made a captive. Then one of the kings of Yaman had bought her and she had given birth to Masrūq and instructed him in Judaism. He reigned after his father and killed a number of the Christians. Bar Sāhdē has told his history in his Chronicle."

It is obvious that this narrative corresponds very well with the version in the Book of the Himyarites, so far as we know it. And especially the name of the Jewish king Masrūq makes it probable that the whole narrative is simply borrowed from that book.¹⁾ It is known that the Chronicle from Saard to a very large extent is compiled of extracts of old Syriac historical works, that exist no longer.²⁾ The same narrative is found also, though much abridged, in the Chronicle of Mari, and as a short notice in the Chronicle of Amr.³⁾

The date of this Ḥayyān the elder is indicated by the notice that he went to Constantinople in the days of Jazdegerd I, who reigned 399—420. There is no difficulty, from a chronological point of view, in thinking that a grand-daughter of his died as a martyr some hundred years later. As to the troubles during which the other Ḥayyān, the younger one, burnt the synagogues, their date is not at all indicated in the fragments preserved. Certainly it was somewhere else in the book. The same undoubtedly was the case concerning the first Abyssinian expedition to Yaman. Now, such a date, approximately of course, could be derived from the heading of Chapter IV, did we know the date of Bishop Thomas. Unfortunately we do not even know where he is supposed to have been bishop. If he was bishop in Najrān and preceded the Bishop Paul, of whom the Book of the Himyarites and the Letter of Simeon (as well as the Acta) tell us, then the Abyssinian expedition, caused by the report on persecutions in Yaman which he gave to the king of Abyssinia, cannot easily be the expedition which scholars used to assign to the year 519. For, at the time

1) Cf. above, p. xlii sq., on the hymn of John Psaltes.

2) Cf. E. Sachau, op. cit., p. 13.

3) See Maris, *Amri and Slibae de Patriarchis Nestorianum commentaria* ed. H. Gismondi, I, p. 33, II, p. 28: cf. G. Westphal, *Untersuchungen über die Quellen und die Glaubwürdigkeit des Patriarchenchroniken des Mārī . . . , Amr... und Šalība . . .* (Kirchhain 1901), p. 153f.

of the persecutions related in the Book of the Himyarites, Bishop Paul had been dead for two years.¹⁾ Thus he died in the year 521. But if this was the case and, on the other hand, his predecessor, Bishop Thomas, was alive even shortly before 519, one can hardly imagine how Bishop Paul, after only a few years episcopate, had become such an important man that the king, after the surrender of Najrān, first of all had to ascertain that he really was dead.

There are, however, two ways, at least, out of this difficulty. Either Thomas was not bishop of Najrān but of another place, or the persecution and the Abyssinian expedition alluded to must be attributed to a considerably earlier period. As this question cannot be settled definitely with the material at my disposal, for the moment, I will merely mention the martyrology of the holy Azqir as a testimony, probably, to a persecution in the times of the king, Sharāḥbi'il Yakkuf, who was in power in the year 467.²⁾ It is to be observed, however, that the author, in speaking, in the beginning of Chapter XLIX, of his sources, mentions as his informants as to the first expedition of the Abyssinians "blessed men who were with them" (see p. 56^b, 15 sq.). This, no doubt, indicates that the first expedition in the relation of the Book of the Himyarites is regarded as being of a comparatively recent date. Still it is noteworthy that these informants, on the other hand, are not the same as those cited with reference to the second expedition. But this, of course, does not necessarily mean that there was a long interval between the two expeditions.

To return, for a moment, to the question how and at what time Christianity was brought to South Arabia, there exists a tradition that attributes this event to a considerably earlier date. The Greek Philostorgios has preserved this often re-narrated story of the holy Theophilos, from Socotra, who was sent by the Emperor Konstantios to the court of the Himyarites, and there succeeded in converting the king.³⁾

¹⁾ This is according to the Acta § 5 (p. 724) only. The term (two years) is not preserved in the fragments and is wanting in the Letter (see p. 503).

²⁾ Cf. H. Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen* vol. I, pp. 329–336 and C. Conti Rossini, *Un documento sul cristianesimo nello Yemen ai tempi del re Šarāḥbil Yakkuf* (in *Rendiconti della reale Acad. dei Lincei, classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Serie Quinta, Vol. XIX, pp. 703–750).

³⁾ Cf. C. Conti Rossini op. cit., pp. 707 sq. To a much earlier epoch has to be attributed the first introduction of Christianity if, as proposed by Ad. Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums* (3rd edition, vol. II, p. 156) South Arabia really is the country meant by "India" in the notice of Eusebius, *Hist. eccles.* V: x, 3, on the voyage of Pantaenos about the year 180. This identification, however, is, as pointed out by Professor Harnack himself (op. cit., p. 152), doubtful.

What ever may be the historical value of this legend in itself, it is certain that neither history nor legends have preserved any traces of such a conversion. The Muhammadan legend of the introduction of Christianity, just alluded to (see above, p. xliii), has preserved no features of obvious historical value. The foreign name Faimiun given to the stranger who converted Abdallah b. ath-Thāmir (cf. loc. laud.) seems to indicate that the legend, in this particular, depends on a story of Greek origin. Other legends, as that of the dispute of the Bishop Gregentius of Ṣafār with the Jews, refer not to the introduction of Christianity but to a later time. The same is the case also with a notice in the Chronicon of Saard already cited, according to which a number of Monophysites, expelled by Justinus, fled, first to al-Ḥira and from there to Najrān, where they propagated their doctrine.¹⁾ It is the same also in the case of the Azqir-legend in spite of the, as it seems, considerably earlier date of this legend: Christianity is spoken of as if it had already got a footing in the country (cf. C. Conti Rossi, op. cit., p. 717).

If the information as to the introduction of Christianity in South Arabia is scanty and of problematic value it is still more so regarding the extent to which Christianity spread. Assemani in his *Bibliotheca Orientalis* III:II, p. DCII combines without much criticism several different legendary reports and states on such a basis that "there were in the kingdom of the Himyarites four bishoprics viz. in Ṣafār (archbishopric), in Aden, in a place at the mouth of the Persian Gulf (Assemani thought this place was Ormuz) and finally in Najrān." In fact, if the Book of Himyarites can be relied on in this respect, its information, reflected to a certain extent in the Acta, is the earliest and hitherto the only genuine information that has reached us on that subject. The headings of Chapters VIII, XXX, XXXI and XXXII show that before the persecution of Masrūq there were churches not only in Najrān but also, at least, in Ṣafār and "Ḥaḍramaut", and, besides this, there were Christians (and probably therefore churches) in Mārib and (Ha)jarēn. During the persecution probably all these churches were destroyed. But the Abyssinians came and "many churches" (p. 56^a, 7) were again built in the land. The view of the Book of the Himyarites as to this restoration is obviously that Christi-

¹⁾ *Histoire Nestorienne (Chronique de Séert)* publiée et traduite p. Addaï Scher, II:1, p. 51 sq. (*Patrologia Orientalis*, vol. VII, p. 143 sq.)

anity emerged from the crisis stronger and probably, therefore, with a greater number of churches than before.

As to the localities just mentioned it is not clear what is the meaning of Ḥaḍramaut. One would expect here the name of a town, not that of a district of such an extent as the valley of Ḥaḍramaut. It is possible, of course, that a place in this valley was once designed by that name, though I could not establish which place it may have been.¹⁾ The principal place of Ḥaḍramaut in old times is said, on the authority of Plinius, in this case not very strong, to have been the town Sabota, which is to be identified with the $\chi\phi\pi\lambda$ of the inscription Os. 29,6 and Shabwa of our days.²⁾ This place would suit here inasmuch as it is not too far from Yaman, being situated only some two hundred kilometres east of Mārib. Ruins of a Himyaritic town are to be seen there (see Bury loc. laud. and *Handbook* loc. laud.) Several ways lead from Shabwa to Najrān and to Mārib.³⁾ To judge from an often cited passage from al-Ḥamdānī (op. cit. p. ^Λν, 23 ff.: "Shabwa between Baiḥān and Ḥaḍramaut") one must think that it did not belong to Ḥaḍramaut; but Nashwān⁴⁾ states expressly that it was "a town of the Himyarites in Ḥaḍramaut." Nothing in our text, however, indicates that this town is meant by the name Ḥaḍramaut. It is just as possible that this name is used there only by a mistake of the Syriac author, who, perhaps, had heard of a town in Ḥaḍramaut and had then forgotten the name of the town.

Hajarēn, proposed by me for the fragmentary *..jryn* of the MS., is known as the name of a place in Wadi Doān⁵⁾ in the vicinity of which the German traveller L. Hirsch (op. cit., pp. 168 and 171f.) saw the ruins of an ancient town. To al-Ḥamdānī and other Muhammadan authors it is known by the name *السيجران*; nowadays it is called Hajarēn (cf. Hirsch op. cit., p. 162). Now it is of course a very delicate

¹⁾ As to Ḥaḍramaut as a place-name see v. Maltzan, *Adolph von Wrede's Reise in Hadhramaut* etc., p. 116.

²⁾ Cf. E. Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens* II, pp. 20, 88, 93f. and M. Hartmann, *Die Arabische Frage*, pp. 171, 419. As to the site of this place compare C. Landberg, *Arabica* V (Leiden 1898), pp. 245 ff., L. Hirsch, *Reisen in Süd-Arabien, Mehra-Land and Hadramut*, p. 205, L. W. C. van der Berg, *Hadhramout*, p. 12 and map, G. Wyman Bury, *The Land of Uz* (London 1911), pp. 218, 247 and map, *A Handbook of Arabia* (Admiralty War Staff 1916) Vol. I, p. 511.

³⁾ Cf. Glaser op. cit., p. 94 and al-Ḥamdānī, *Jazīrat al-ʿarab* (passim).

⁴⁾ *Angaben etc. herausgegeben von 'Azimuddin Aḥmad*, "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" XXIV, p. ٥٣, 10 f.

⁵⁾ See L. W. C. van den Berg, *Le Ḥadhramout*, pp. 13, 24 and map.

question, how it could be allowable to suppose a form Hajarēn, looking like a vulgar Arabic dual, to have existed in a MS. of the year 932, or rather in a work of the 6th century. It is a matter of course, it is true, that my reading of the name is nothing but a guess given for the simple reason that I can propose no better. Still the objection just based on the vulgar Arabic form of the name is not too serious. For I do not think that this name originally was a North-Arabic dual as in the Muhammadan literature. The word itself (*hajar*) is, as already al-Hamdānī well knew, a South-Arabic word meaning *town*. And this language possessed a termination *ēn* or *in* commonly used to form place-names.¹⁾ This termination is often taken by the Arabs as that of a dual, and so, I think, the learned Muhammadan authors formed a regular nominative of the dual, viz. al-Hajarānī, not only with termination of the North-Arabic dual but also with the article of that language²⁾ applied to the South-Arabic word. Thus it is an old vernacular form Hajarēn (Hajarān) that I am disposed to seek in the place-name of which the letters . . jryn (text p. 5) are the remains. As to the place itself it may be left an open question whether the ancient town in Wadi Doān is concerned, or possibly another place bearing the same name.

Christianity maintained itself in these parts, at least in Najrān, till the days of the caliphate of Omar. He is said³⁾ in the year 13 after the Hijra to have ordered the Christians in Najrān who still refused to embrace Islam to be deported to Irāq. The place called Najrān of al-Kūfah is thought to derive its origin from this event.⁴⁾ If we hear of bishops of the Najranites in later time,⁵⁾ between 846 and 935, it is perhaps these "Najranites" that are meant.⁶⁾ As to Judaism, it is well known, especially since the journey of Halévy,

¹⁾ Cf. e. g., G. Kampfmeyer, *ZDMG* vol. 54 (1900), p. 647f. and C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen I*, p. 393.

²⁾ Im consequence al-Hamdānī (loc. laud.) wishes to make us think that the place really consisted of two towns.

³⁾ See Ṭabarī, *Annales I*, p. ۲۱۱۲.

⁴⁾ See for instance Jācūts *Geographisches Wörterbuch* ed. Fr. Wüstenfeld, IV, p. vov. Another Najrān, in Haurān, is mentioned by Yāqūt on the next page, and still exists.

⁵⁾ *Chronique de Michel de Syrien* ed. J.-B. Chabot, vol. IV (Paris 1910), p. 756–759, cf. *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* vol. 4 (1899), p. 499 (No. 53), p. 502 (No. 30), p. 505 (No. 17) and p. 506 (No. 13).

⁶⁾ See, however, on a bishop of Yaman and Ṣan'ā about A. D. 835, *The Book of Governors*, ed. Budge, I, p. 238 and, on Christians in Najrān A. D. 897, C. Arendonk, *De opkomst van het Zaiditische Imamaf* (Leiden 1919), p. 128, 309; cf. C. Conti Rossini, *RSO* vol. IX, p. 429.

that it is still alive in the country. A deportation of the Jews in Najrān to al-Kūfa of which Ṭabari tells us¹⁾ on the authority of al-Wāqidi therefore seems to have been of only temporary effect, if it was brought about at all. Probably the Jews in Yaman were too numerous to allow such a proceeding.

As to the Jewish King himself, Masrūq, the notice in the Nestorian Chronicle from Saard, cited above pp. xlix sq., informs us that his mother was a Jewish slave and his father a king of Yaman. He succeeded his father on the throne, but he followed his mother in her religion, which obviously was not his father's. We do not learn from the fragments preserved if this was the version also of the Book of the Himyarites. Still his descent from a slave would well account for the remark of the martyr Ruhm (p. 37^b, 11 sq.) that not one of Masrūq's nobles, nor even the King himself, was worthy to take her to wife. It is striking, however, that the fragment, speaking (p. 43^b) of his predecessors on the throne and mentioning one of them by name, does not make a single allusion to the fact that they were also his ancestors. In the situation pictured in this passage such a reminder would have been quite appropriate, and one therefore feels tempted to think that Masrūq, according to the Book of the Himyarites, was not a near relation to his predecessors, even if he was a member of the same royal family.²⁾ I think it, however, more probable, as observed above, that the narrative of the Nestorian Chronicle is simply borrowed from the Book.

As already pointed out (cf. above, p. xlviii) the Jews are the ruling fraction of the persecutors and, probably, of the people; in Najrān, of course, the Christians are in power. The heathens stand back in a strange manner, but it is not clear if this was permanently so, owing, perhaps, to numerical or social inferiority, or only for the short period of the reign of Masrūq, owing to his being a Jew. The political situation, however, allows, in my opinion, of but one explanation: the Christians held with the Abyssinians, but the Jews and the heathens, who certainly formed the bulk of the people, represented the national aspirations and worked for political independence. Amongst these, let us say, nationalists the Jews had probably the advantage of relations abroad, with their co-religionists (Tiberias is mentioned p. 7^a), and perhaps also with the Persians. This and the fact of the King being a Jew gave

1) Ṭabari, *Annales I*, p. ۲۵۹۵.

2) Cf. Martin Hartmann, *Die Arabische Frage*, p. 507.

them the momentary preponderance which in the Book of the Himyarites with its ecclesiastical character is so strongly emphasized.

The many martyrologies constitute the central part of the Book of the Himyarites. Of them only some few particulars may be pointed out.

A certain number of the martyrs are burnt and it would be of special interest, in respect of the famous verses in the Koran, Sura LXXXV, 4 sq., to be able to state that, in some cases at least, the fire was made in a trench or pit. But so far I can see this was not the case. The Book has nothing of that artificial or phantastical element so often met with in later martyrologies. The tyrant and his executioners, to be sure, do their utmost to invent deliberate and deterrent punishments. But when they are to be carried out it is done in a quite natural and practical way without affectation and unnecessary apparatus. Martyrs, thus, are burnt in the church in Ṣafār, where they had repaired, together with the building itself (pp. 7^b, 19^a). The same method was practised also in Najrān. But there the fire was fed with fresh fuel before the martyr ṢRWYB(a) was cast into the flames (p. 18^b, 3f.) and the same thing was repeated the next day again in the cases of Tahnah and Aumah (Chapter XV). That this was the case is not said in the heading of the chapter (nothing more is preserved of it), but it appears from the little retrospective note that ends (p. 19^a, 11–26) the preceding part of the narrative specially devoted to martyrdoms by fire. There we are given to understand that all these martyrs were burnt in the churches of Ṣafār and Najrān respectively, and only the Martyr Ḥadyah alone in her own house. Of a trench or a pit filled with fire, therefore, there probably was no use in this work. That it occurs in the *Acta* has already been stated above (p. xxxii). But it is hardly favourable to the credibility of this story that such a troublesome arrangement as this pit of fire should be used only once, for one woman and her son. As to the use of punishments by fire in Yaman cf. C. Conti Rossini, *op. cit.* p. 744, footnote (2).

The other martyrs are beheaded, or else killed by the sword or by arrows, flogged to death, or bound to wild camels and dragged out by them into the desert.

A noticeable fact is the moderation the work observes as to miracles and omens. It is of course possible that the missing portions told of more incidents of that kind but at all events what remains indicates a moderation that inspires confidence. Chapter IV seems, to judge from

the heading, to have told of some omen. Besides this, only Chapter XVI dwells on miraculous matter as a conclusion to the narrative of martyrdoms by fire just spoken of. This portion of the chapter seems to have had its own rubric of which a few words (among these the names Gabriel (?) and Eliyah) still remain (see p. 19^b, 13–15). A portion of it is preserved on p. 20^b. The miracles are described as a gleam of light, the rumble of a sounding board calling for service, the voices of a service, an odour, surpassing the finest perfumes, issuing from the spot where the martyrs had died, a well of water and oil springing up from the same place—"miracles" most of which could present themselves at any time and anywhere to excited minds in troubled times.

Even the very utterances of the martyrs to the tyrant show a certain moderation as compared with what is often met with in the traditional martyrologies. In response to the command of the tyrant that they should deny Christ, spit on the cross, dip a finger in a bowl containing blood¹⁾ and become Jews, the martyrs reply, as a rule, by shortly but clearly confessing Christ, blessing the cross and offering thanks to God for the glory of martyrdom awaiting them. In some cases, it is true, they manifest the tendency to revile and provoke the tyrant that is so well known in most martyrologies. But even then one misses with satisfaction the equally common tedious and insipid theological discussions. The author has succeeded in holding them back till the speeches in Chapters XLI, XLVI, XLVIII, and till his own concluding discourse in Chapter XLIX.

The martyrdoms in Najrān are, so far as the fragments show, minutely dated. Certainly the work has stated the dates of other important events also, such as the years of the Abyssinian expeditions. On p. 56^a we learn that on the second expedition of the Abyssinians the King and the bulk of the army stayed in the country for seven months.

The dates preserved are the following:²⁾

1. The week-days Tuesday and Wednesday, (certainly of the same week as the next date viz. the 20th and 21st of the latter Teshrī): martyrdoms, related in Chapters XIII–XVI (see p. 19^a, 21 sq)

¹⁾ On this ceremony and the use of blood in oaths and covenants see W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship & Marriage in early Arabia* (London 1903), pp. 56–61 and J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (2. edition), p. 128. In the same way is an episode in the Letter (and the Acta) to be understood. At the execution of Hārith (Letter, p. 512, 5 f., Acta, § 20 sq.) the Christians rushed forward, took of the blood of the Martyr, and smeared it on their own bodies. In so doing they declared their readiness to stand or fall with him

²⁾ Parts of the single dates not expressly given in the text are put in brackets.

2. Friday (23rd of the latter Teshri): martyrdoms of the free-born men, related Chapter XVIII (see p. 26^a, 10).
3. Sunday, 25th of the latter Teshri: martyrdoms of Ḥārith and 'Arbai (?), related Chapter XIX (see p. 23^a, 20 sq.).
4. Monday (26th of the latter Teshri): Abdallah b. Af'ū is permitted to bury the bodies of the martyrs of the preceding days (p. 23^a, 23).
5. The same day: Dhū-Yazan is ordered to collect and bring out before Masrūq the wives of the martyrs of the preceding Friday (see p. 25^b, 26).
6. The same day, 26th of the latter Teshri: the women just mentioned are put to death on their way out, related Chapter XX (p. 30^a, 21 sq.).
7. Tuesday (27th) of the latter Teshri: martyrdom of Ḥabṣa, related Chapter XXI (p. 31^a, 28—31^b, 1. 36^b, 7 sq.).
8. Wednesday (28th) of the latter Teshri: martyrdom of Ruhm, of her daughter Aumah and her grand-daughter Ruhm, related Chapter XXII (p. 43^b, 7 sq.).

In these two last cases the week-day and the month are stated, but not the actual dates. In most of the cases the week-day alone is given, to which I have added in brackets the proper date in consequence to the two cases (3 and 6) of full dating. There is, however, as often is the case both in Syriac and Arabic writings of the Middle Age, some inconsistency in these dates. For in the year 523 A. D., which, no doubt, is the year of these incidents, November 25th (see above no. 3) fell not on a Sunday but on a Saturday.

As to this discrepancy, stated already in my preliminary note on the Book of the Himyarites, Professor F. C. Burkitt kindly wrote to me: "The *week-day* is likely to be right, if the work is that of an eyewitness; it is likely to be wrong, if it is only arrived at by calculation." This remark, I think, hits the nail on the head. In the present case the decision is easy. For it is of course not by a mere chance that Saturday, the Jewish sabbath, is left free. It is the date that is wrong and must be increased by one in all the cases given above. The nearest years in which November 25th really fell on a Sunday would be 518 and 529. In the Abyssinian Calendar the day of the Martyrs of Najrān is Hedar 26th, Hedar being the month that, generally speaking, corresponds to

November, and the 26th being, as just shown, the rectified date of the martyrdom of Hārith.¹⁾

In speaking of the martyrdoms it should be observed that the martyr Ruhm, of course the "Rome" or "Duma" of the Letter of Simeon and the "widow" of the Acta, is not, in the Book of the Himyarites, the wife of Hārith as is stated in the recensions of the Letter offered by the works of John of Asia and Zacharias of Mitylene, and in the Abyssinian tradition, the Acta as well as the Synaxarium under Hedar 26th.²⁾ This is nothing but a secondary combination which, however, was taken as an original trait by J. Halévy³⁾ and, in connection with other similar mistakes, led him to his hypercritical attitude towards the Letter of Simeon. According to a notice on p. 36^b, 24 Ruhm was a relation of Hārith, not his wife. Her husband, however, was amongst the martyrs killed during the last few days before her own death, and his name, therefore, is certainly amongst the names of the martyrs given on pp. 24 sqq. though not specially indicated as the name of her husband. As he was in a very prominent position it is not impossible that he was actually that 'Arbai (?) who suffered together with Hārith on Sunday. A son of hers is mentioned (p. 25^a, 10 sq.) as one of the martyrs. Of the two younger women the one was her daughter, the other her granddaughter, whose mother, 'Amma, however, had been killed already along with the bulk of the free-born women. As stated above (p. xxx) these two younger women are, for the sake of brevity, called her daughters (p. 30^b and p. 39^a), and this expression has misled the author of the Acta to think that they both really were so. The notice (p. 36^b, 22 sq.) that Ruhm was of the family (or tribe?) Jaw, (cf. below, p. lxxiii) is of interest, as also in general the social position of this woman and her relation to former kings, to one of whom she lent money.

The martyr Hārith in the Letter of Simeon is called Hārith b. Ka'b, a name that is adopted, though disfigured, also in the Acta. Since

¹⁾ Hedar 26th exactly corresponds to November 22nd of the Julian Calendar, cf. J. Ludolf, *Ad suam historiam aethiopicam commentarius*, p. 399; the Abyssinian Synaxaria mention the martyrs of Najrān under Hedar 26th. In the Roman calendar the day of "Arethas et socii" is Oct. 24th and so it is in the calendar of the Syriac Maronites, but in the Jacobite Menologies, edited by Nau (*Patrologia Orientalis*, vol. X), Dec. 31th, in the Armenian Synaxarium, edited by G. Bayan (*Patrologia Orientalis*, vol. XV), Sahmi 11th (i. e. Oct. 20th), and in the old Calendar of Jerusalem as preserved in two Georgian Manuscripts (Heinr. Goussen, *Über georg. Drucke und Handschriften* etc., München-Gladbach 1923, p. 34) Oct. 4th.

²⁾ See Fell in *ZDMG* vol. 35 (1881), p. 58 and E. Pereira, op. cit., p. 90 and p. 171.

³⁾ See *Revue des études Juives*, vol. 18 (1889), p. 164 sq.

Caussin de Perceval¹⁾ observed that this was the name of a South-Arabian tribe settled in Wadi Najrān, it has been an object for much suspicion on the part of scholars in its use as the personal name of the martyr. Most scholars have on this ground rejected the name in that application as a mistake, and many have been ready, following also in this in the footsteps of Caussin de Perceval, to accept the name proposed by the Muhammadan tradition, Abdallah b. ath-Thāmir, as the true name of that person. As observed already this Abdallah b. ath-Thāmir in the Muhammadan legend is said to have been the person who, practically speaking, introduced Christianity into Najrān. But tradition is not unanimous as to the question whether he was put to death in connection with the persecution of Christians let loose on Najrān by the Jewish king. According to others he had died long before that time.

Now we know that, according to the Book of the Himyarites, Hārith was *not* the person who introduced Christianity into Najrān, but on the other hand he *certainly* was one of the martyrs there and the chief of them (cf. p. 36^b, 25). Thus there is not very much to support the identity of this Hārith with the Abdallah of the Muhammadan legend. And the chief reason for identifying them exists no longer. For in the Book of the Himyarites he is only called Hārith, the Kunya-name being unknown in its narrative. By chance the very passage seems to be preserved where Hārith is introduced into the story, viz. p. 8^a, 17. Even in that place he is called Hārith without any additional name.²⁾ And it cannot, of course, be urged that the name Hārith itself was unknown in Wadi Najrān. It can then be left an open question whether the name of his father really was Ka'b, as in the letter of Simeon, or whether this information is a mistake on account of the tribal name Hārith b. Ka'b.

It is a pity that nothing is left of the narratives of the persecutions in other places, Ḥaḍramaut, Mārib and (Ha) jarēn. Probably, however, they would not, if preserved, have added very much to our knowledge in geographical, ethnographical or archaeological respects. Even what is told about Najrān in this respect is next to nothing. We understand that the author thinks Najrān to be a great fortified town. The ditch outside the wall, where the bodies of the shot-down women were cast, is most naturally taken as a moat. It is not without interest to observe that it is designed by words borrowed from the languages

¹⁾ Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes* I, p. 129.

²⁾ It is the same also in the hymn of John Psaltes, cf. above, p. xliii.

of the two great military powers of the epoch, the first time (p. 30^a, 14) by the Persian *kandaq*¹⁾, the other time by the Greek *φόσσατον*. Fortifications, it is well known, are not seldom spoken of in the South-Arabian inscriptions, and even Aelius Gallus, on his famous expedition to Yaman, had to arrange a regular siege of "Marsyaba", a siege, moreover, that he was soon forced to give up again.

Buildings and dwellings are nowhere described; we only learn (p. 43^a, 25) that Masrūq, during his stay outside Najrān, lived in a *dārthā dē qaiṣē*, not considering for the moment whether this means a wooden house, or possibly a camp protected by a stockade (cf. p. 35^a, 22, where, at all events, the camp is spoken of). In the Acta (§ 21) Dunaas, in consequence of this, is said to live in a tent outside the town (cf. above, p. xxviii).

According to the Book of the Himyarites Yaman was in comparatively lively communication with the Greek-Persian world.²⁾ The way passed by Ḥirṭha dē Na'mān. Also in the Book Masrūq writes to Mundhar³⁾ in Ḥirṭha. In Ḥirṭha the ambassador of the King, Af'ū, was baptized, (p. 23^b, 8-14). In Najrān stayed two presbyters from Ḥirṭha (p. 14^b, 19f.), and also amongst the men of Masrūq is a man, "Christian in name", i. e., probably, a Nestorian, from Ḥirṭha. With this one may compare the significance of Ḥirṭha not only in the Letter of Simeon and the Acta but also in the passage, cited above, (p. xlix), from the Chronicle from Sa'ard (vol. I, p. 218 sq.), where Ḥayyān, going from Najrān to Persia, passes by Ḥirṭha, as also, finally, in the record in the same work (vol. II, p. 52), where the Jacobites expelled from Ḥirṭha fled to Najrān. The Muhammadan historiography shows the same thing, as can easily be seen from the excellent work of G. Rothstein, just cited.

The interior of Yaman obviously was not, at this time, such an inaccessible and inhospitable country as it has become since. Amongst the martyrs we meet with, besides Himyarites and Abyssinians, not only the two presbyters from Ḥirṭha just mentioned, but also two

1) Cf. J. Horowitz in *Der Islam*, vol. 12 (1922), p. 179, note 2.

2) Cf. Hartmann, *Arabische Frage*, p. 496.

3) Mundhar in the heading of Chapter XXV is called bar Zaqiqa. The name of his mother was according to Ṭabari (*Annales* I, p. 900) Māriya, though she was called also Mā' as-samā'. According to Th. Nöldeke (*Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, p. 169, note 4) her name was, on the contrary, Šaqiqa cf. G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Laḥmiden in al-Ḥira*, Berlin 1899, (p. 75 sqq.), by which name she is known to the Byzantine historians and, consequently, also in the Acta (Σακιζα, § 25). Zaqifa of my preliminary note p. 34, is a mistake. As to its real form in the Book, Zaqiqa (instead of Shaqiqa) cf. ὁ Ζακιζης in Theophanes (see Nöldeke and Rothstein II. II.).

Greeks, the presbyter Sergios and the deacon Hananya and a Persian presbyter Abraham (p. 14^b, 20 sqq.).

The Himyarites are characterized (p. 55^b, 6 sq.) as a barbarian people¹⁾ of whom one could expect but little. It is not without humour that it is an Abyssinian whom the Book makes deliver this both severe and indulgent verdict. That the Himyarites could not make themselves understood by the Abyssinians appears from the notice on p. 49^b, 18. 20.

The Abyssinians are deliverers sent by God. Of the decisive battle and the death of Masrūq one can form no very clear idea from the fragmentary narrative on pp. 45 sq. The remains are in a condition to make a reconstruction rather arbitrary. About the continued work of "liberation", on the other hand, we learn enough to understand that in many respects it was like other operations of that kind. One easily realises that it was a hard thing for the country to recover from what it had now to suffer. The Abyssinians "began to roam through all the towns in the provinces of the Himyarites, wasting and plundering to their hearts' content" (p. 49^a, 23 sqq.). After a sojourn of seven months during which they "performed all they wished by the power of their Lord, who was with them, and took there all that their eyes desired, by the grace that followed them" (p. 56^a), they at last returned to their own land taking with them not only fifty persons of the royal family, but also many other heathen Himyarites who thus had to go into an exile, probably in truth not very different from slavery.

Unfortunately an ill chance has obliterated, in the midst of an otherwise legible text, the name of the Himyarite, of the Royal family, whom Kāleb made his tributary king in the country. As to the reading cf. below, the note on the Syriac text of p. 54^a, 23. It is, however, certain that in the Book of the Himyarites this name was not Abraha. More probably it is to be brought into connexion with the name that occurs in the final note to the Letter of Simeon as edited by I. Guidi. There (p. 515) that man is called ܐܒܪܗܐ. There is, in the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, a manuscript (Ms. orient. oct. 1257) that is a carefully written copy of a manuscript in Diarbekr, of the contents of which an account is given by Mgr. Addai Scher.²⁾ This MS. contains also the letter of

¹⁾ A similar statement is made in the introductory note to the hymn of John Psaltes.

²⁾ *Journal Asiatique* Série 10, Tome 10 (1907), p. 398–401. I am indebted to Professor Heinrich Goussen of Bonn for the information as to the existence of the Berlin copy. To the authorities of the Staatsbibliothek I am much obliged for having placed at my disposal here in Lund, with the well-known generosity of the German libraries, this as well as other costly manuscripts.

Simeon in the same recension as that edited by I. Guidi. To judge from the introductory note, reproduced in *Journal Asiatique* (p. 400, note 1), it is here derived from the church history of Bar Sāhdē. But, except that note, nothing suggests this origin¹). The text is in full accordance with the text of Guidi, the variants in no case being of fundamental consequence. Not seldom the text follows that of Guidi's MS. P. In this Berlin MS., now, the name of the Himyarite in question is ܐܒܪܗܐ. Here the name ends, not counting the ܐ (of the Syriac termination?) on the same letter ܐ as in the Book of the Himyarites. Unfortunately the obvious resemblance seems to be limited to this. At all events the name in the Book certainly has not had the ܐ that the name in the Letter of Simeon has in both texts. It is however not quite impossible that the letter after ܐ in the Book really was ܐ, corresponding, not counting the ܐ, to the ܐ in the Letter. If, on the contrary, it was a ܐ it should be noted here that the name ܐܒܪܗܐ does in fact occur elsewhere in the Book (p. 25, three times) as the name of a martyr. To me it looks as if the letter preceding the ܐ in the Book must have been a ܐ.

Be that as it may, whether the name in the Book and the corresponding name in the Letter are variants of a common original form or not, it is obvious, as just stated, that the name in the Book was not Abraha, as in the Greek tradition, viz. in the *Acta*, in the narrative of Procopios—there, it is true, in a different character—in Michael Syrus²) and, though in somewhat varying connection, in the Muhammadan tradition that depends on the Greek one. For this reason the Book of the Himyarites and the Letter of Simeon must be classed by themselves.

As to this person and his subsequent fate we learn nothing in the Book. The account has reached its aim in showing how the divine vengeance befell the persecutors and a new state of things was established through Kāleb, the liberator sent by God.

THE SOURCES OF THE BOOK OF THE HIMYARITES AND ITS AUTHOR

The inquiry as to the relation that the Book of the Himyarites holds to the works of the Greek and Muhammadan traditions has shown that

¹) Thus there are no other extracts from the work of Bar Sāhdē, as one might be made think from the way in which the work is mentioned by Baumstark, *Geschichte der Syrischen Literatur* (Bonn 1922), p. 135.

²) See *Chronique* . . . *éditée* p. J.-B. Chabot, Book IX, Chap. XVII (vol. IV, p. 274).

it is a source of some of them, but that itself is not dependent upon any of them. Nor does its author refer to any other written work as his source. And even in the portions now missing from the work he can scarcely have done so except, perhaps, in the first three chapters. The Book of the Himyarites pretends to have been written shortly after the events described and on the basis mainly of oral records of eye-witnesses.

The author states in the last chapter (p. 56^b), that his object has been to tell of events that have taken place in the land of the Himyarites "many generations ago and even until the coronation of those victorious ones who have now suffered martyrdom there." He has learned of this from believing Himyarites who were eye-witnesses of the events they have told him of. About the first expedition of the Abyssinians he has heard from "blessed men (البركة) who were with them." The history of the second expedition of the Abyssinians is related by "still other men who went with them to make war" against the Jews.

It appears from passages such as p. 23^a, 25 sq. and 35^b, 14 sq. that the author somewhere in the first portion of his work has given a detailed account as to his informants. To this passage, unfortunately lost, he refers therefore, when (p. 23^a, 23—23^b, 14) he introduces one of these informants, the believing Abdallah b. Af'ū, recording his attitude towards the incidents, mentioning his father who, a heathen, was one of the magnates around Masrūq, and telling how Abdallah made use of his position to obtain leave to bury the martyrs. To this same passage he refers also when he (p. 35^b, 14 f.) makes us acquainted with another of his informants, the believing Af'ū, brother-in-law of the Martyr Ḥabṣa, who had informed him how he had secretly gone out into the desert for the bodies of this Martyr and the Martyr Ḥayya and buried them. Abdallah "and those with him" he refers to also p. 24^a, 26 sqq. as the ones who had written to him, from memory, the names of martyrs recorded on p. 24^b—25^b. In other cases,¹⁾ he refers to his informants without mentioning them by name. Once, in establishing the relation of a miracle (p. 20^b, 5 sq.), he makes them confirm by oath the veracity of their statement.

It is not necessary specially to point to expressions such as (p. 56^b, 9) "these victorious ones who have now suffered martyrdom" to prove that the author himself pretends to have written his work shortly after

¹⁾ See pp. 20a, 15 (fragmentary), 20b, 5 sq. 22, 25b, 23 sq. 30a, 27 sq., 30b, 27 sq.

the principal incidents pictured in it. But it merits attention that the narrative of the believing Afū as to the burial of the martyrs Ḥabṣa and Ḥayya (p. 36^a, 27 sq.) reveals by itself that it was in fact made up even before the second expedition of the Abyssinians. For Afū there declares that he had *not yet* dared to save any of the bones of the martyrs for fear of the Jews, because it was to risk one's life to be found to have such relics in one's possession. The author himself immediately before has thought necessary by the remark "for the Jews were still ruling in the land" to point out that this was no longer the case at the moment when he wrote his work.

As to the person of the author we learn next to nothing in the fragments. In the final note of the work he was hardly even mentioned if, as I think is the case, the fragments XXIX and XXX (pp. 60 and 61) are in unbroken sequence. The last lines of *Fragm.* XXIX (p. 60), it is true, are fragmentary, but it is, notwithstanding, obvious that they have had for subject the retributive justice of God. And the lacuna at the top of the following page (*Fragm.* XXX, p. 61) hardly offers the necessary space for the author to be mentioned there. More likely he was named in the preface immediately before our *Fragm.* I. The only notice of him still preserved is the passage (p. 23^b, 8 sq.) where it is stated that, after the persecution, he baptized with great ceremony the Himyarite Afū, father of Abdallah, in the church of the true believers (probably the Monophysites as opposed to the Nestorians) in Ḥirṭha, "when we (*i. e.* the author) still were there."

One cannot abstain from comparing this with the situation pictured in the Letter of Simeon of Bēth Arshām. The embassy with which Simeon came to the camp of Mundhar there heard, from the Jewish side, the first news of the persecution in Najrān. Returning to Ḥirṭha they obtained more detailed information. There, for some time, had been staying a legation consisting of Christian Himyarites, sent there already by the Christian king of the Himyarites, whose death now had given Masrūq the opportunity of usurping the power. At the rumour of their king being dead they had sent a person back to their land to gather information. This person, at this moment, had returned to Ḥirṭha where, in consequence, now a certain number of Himyarites were informed of what had happened in their land. Simeon only stayed a short time in Ḥirṭha. Some one in the company may have stayed longer. No doubt refugees from Yaman little by little arrived in the place. They had found their way there before, and so they did

later (cf. above, p. lxi). Thereby arose just the situation in which the author of the Book of the Himyarites could gather the information necessary for his work, up to Chapter XXXV inclusively. It is not necessary to think that he stayed at Ḥirṭha long enough to learn also of the second expedition of the Abyssinians. But certainly the conversion and baptism of Af'ū could be most easily explained by assuming Af'ū also in his turn to have come there as a fugitive before the Abyssinian avengers. Be this as it may, the notice (p. 23^b) just cited says expressly that the work was not put on paper in Ḥirṭha. Moreover it is obvious, from the Index as well as from the fragments preserved, that the material was not nearly so rich for this part of the work as for the earlier part. The facts are scarce and the edifying meditations take more place.

About the author we learn, by all this, nothing new. He, of course, was not necessarily a member of the embassy of Justin mentioned above. But perhaps there is a hint as to his name and social position to be derived from another quarter. For in the *Acta* (§ 2) we are informed that "the land of the Himyarites was as thickly settled and populous as Ruṣāfa." This Ruṣāfa the learned editor and commentator of the text in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Pater Carpentier, identified (p. 726, note z) with the Syriac town near Rakka, that the Greeks called Sergiopolis. Concluding from this mention of Ruṣāfa, I. Guidi (op. cit., p. 471, note 3) suggested that the author of the *Acta* was a monk or priest of that town, and very likely the Bishop Sergios (or Georgios) of Ruṣāfa¹), mentioned in the Letter of Simeon (p. 507) as a member of the embassy from the emperor to the King Mundhar, to which also Simeon belonged. Now, referring to our inquiry as to the relation that the *Acta* hold to the Book of the Himyarites as one of their two Syriac sources, the other being the Letter of Simeon, and taking for granted that the mentioning of Ruṣāfa must be ascribed to the Syriac, not the Greek, sources it is

¹) In the text of Guidi his name is Sergios, but in Guidi's Ms. P it is Georgios, and so also in the Berlin copy of the old Ms. of Diarbekr mentioned above. The variant probably is a mere graphical one. Otherwise no bishop of Ruṣāfa of this epoch is known to me (later on there was both a Sergios and a Georgios). Still it may be observed that, in an old, now ruined, basilica at Ruṣāfa, once rebuilt and restored by a Bishop Simeon in the year 1092 or 1093, there occur columns from an older building with capitals of about the epoch of Justinianus. On a number of these capitals the following inscription is to be read: ΕΠΙ ΣΕΡΓΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΣΥΝΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΜΑΡΩΝΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΩΡΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ (see S. Guyer, *Ruṣāfah* in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, vol. II, Berlin 1920, p. 15). From this it must thus be concluded that once in the 6th or following century there was in Ruṣāfa a Bishop Sergios.

likely enough that this particular in the *Acta* should be derived from the Book of the Himyarites. Taking up thus the suggestion of Professor Guidi in a modified form I think it possible, if not very probable, that the author of the Book of the Himyarites was just this Sergios (or Georgios) of Ruṣāfa. Professor Nöldeke, in his review of the edition of the Letter by Professor Guidi, rejects this suggestion of Guidi as to the author of the *Acta* saying: „Wer mit Simeon in Hira zugegen war, der hätte doch wohl mehr getan, als dessen Erzählung nur etwas aususchmücken.“¹⁾ After the preceding account of the Book of the Himyarites, of its contents and of its relation to the tradition, the words of Professor Nöldeke strike one as nearly prophetic. The author of the Book of the Himyarites has certainly “mehr getan”.

In fact even Professor Guidi has hinted at a modification of his view. For as he (op. cit., p. 500) illustrates his idea as to the tradition on the incidents in Yaman by drawing up a sort of *tree*, he there not only puts the *Acta* in their due place, but places on a stage above, as another and preceding degree, parallel with the Letter of Simeon, the Bishop Sergios (Georgios) of Ruṣāfa. If in this place we put, instead of Sergios (or Georgios), the Book of the Himyarites we have, in my opinion, given to this work just its due place in the tradition, with the slight modification only that the hymn of John Psaltes also probably depends, directly or indirectly, on the Book of the Himyarites.²⁾

Possibly, thus, the Book of the Himyarites was written by Sergios (or Georgios) of Ruṣāfa. But this cannot be proved by conclusive evidence. It would be, besides, of no great importance for the estimation and understanding of the work. For we know nothing of this person except this, that he was with Simeon of Bēth Arshām in Hīrtha. We do not know for certain, as already observed, even what his name was.

THE HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE BOOK OF THE HIMYARITES

The preceding inquiry has dealt with what the author of the Book of the Himyarites wishes us to know and think as to the incidents in Yaman and as to the sources of his own work. The internal value of this work, its authenticity and its trustworthiness, have not been as yet discussed. These points however decide whether the Book of the Him-

¹⁾ See *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 1882: 1, p. 206.

²⁾ As to its age see above, p. xlii. It formerly was thought to have been composed shortly after the persecution.

yarites has any value other than a literary one, as being a link in the traditions on the events that it describes, that is to say, if it has any historical value. We have seen that the Book of the Himyarites and the Letter of Simeon, though from a strictly literary point of view independent, are closely akin as to their contents and the situation from which they proceed. The one is but the earlier pamphlet, hastily written immediately on the arrival of the first information, with the purpose of raising the hue and cry against the persecutors; the other is the later, elaborate, historical record, quietly compiled on the basis of fuller knowledge after the affair had been settled. The question as to the authenticity of the one, therefore, includes the question also as to the authenticity of the other. If the Letter of Simeon is genuine, then there is but little doubt that the Book of the Himyarites also is what it claims to be.

This, however, does not in the least imply that the authenticity of the Book of the Himyarites depends on the authenticity of the Letter. On the contrary, the discovery of this work has furnished a fresh and, in my opinion, decisive argument for the authenticity of the Letter of Simeon. As to the Book, it shows in itself, in its style, in its inner coherence, in nearly every detail in its narrative, the marks of its own authenticity.¹⁾

I do not doubt, thus, that the Book of the Himyarites is a narrative composed shortly after the second Abyssinian expedition, *i. e.*, shortly after A. D. 525, based mainly on oral records delivered, partly even before that expedition, by persons—whom the author considered trustworthy—who came from Yaman and proclaimed themselves to have been eyewitnesses of the events they recounted. With this information for a basis the author's aim has been to compose a truthful historical record in honour of the martyrs, for the strengthening of his readers in the confession of Christianity, and with the theme that, by a mere chance, is alluded to in the very first as well as the last words preserved of his work, "God rewards everyone according to his works."

To a large extent the historical reliability of the work thus depends on the reliability of the informants. In this respect one can judge only from interior indications, the possibility or probability of the relations given, and from their consistency with what is otherwise known about the same events. From both points of view the Book of the

¹⁾ Cf. my notice, cited above, *The Book of the Himyarites*, p. 36 sq.

Himyarites holds its own. But it is necessary, of course, not to expect too much. The work is of an obviously literary character. It must not be thought that its many speeches, dialogues, addresses and such things are meant to exactly reproduce the speeches in reality delivered on the occasions indicated. And even the account of the actual facts must be taken *cum grano salis*. One must not forget that what the Book gives is a record from agitated times and of agitating incidents. One person has seen one thing, another another. The impressions of one person have been confronted and confused with those of another long before they reached the writer. And together with him the informants themselves held a definite position, and not an unprejudiced one, as to what had happened. They all agreed with one another in the same view as to the incidents, their causes, their bearing and how to employ them. One must not expect more in the way of an objective and impartial account than of, say, a first report in a newspaper now-a-days about riots in the Ruhrdistrict, or of a modern government communiqué in war-time.

As to the consistency of the account of the Book with what is otherwise known of the same incidents it must be admitted, it is true, that the difficulties possibly would be greater if we had, on one side, the complete Book, and, on the other, fuller and more detailed information from other quarters. Whether one considers the Letter of Simeon as genuine, with Nöldeke, Guidi, Dillman, and others, or as unauthentic with J. H. Mordtmann¹), if one is only disposed to admit, at least, two different Abyssinian military expeditions to Yaman, one earlier²) and one in the year 525, one meets with no difficulty in this question in the fragments of the Book of the Himyarites. For the account of the first expedition is, unfortunately, lost and the only remaining particular belonging to it, the name HYWN' in the heading of Chapter V, is too uncertain to make any difficulty. If one does not, as does Halévy³), categorically deny the possibility of a Himyaritic king (or insurgent, or champion of liberty) confessing the Jewish religion, one must not think the position of the Jews, as pictured in the Book, to be unhistorical. But for a theory like that proposed by Halévy, who interprets

¹) Cf. his article, *Die himyarisch-äthiopischen Kriege noch einmal* in ZDMG, vol. 35 (1881), p. 693—710.

²) Though later than that of the Abyssinian King Afīlas suggested by C. Conti Rossini in *Journal Asiatique*, Série 11, Tome 18 (1921), p. 30 sq.

³) Cf. *Revue des études juives*, vol. 18 (1889), p. 173 sqq., 178, *Revue sémitique*, vol. 4 (1896), p. 64, vol. 8 (1900), p. 90.

the Jews of the tradition as "judaizing Christians" i. e. Arians, the account of the Book certainly makes insuperable difficulties. The mentioning of "the Christians in name" among the Jews (p. 7^a, 7 sq.), the "Jewish priests from Tiberias," and all the other unmistakeably Jewish features allow but one interpretation.

Those "Christians in name" on the Jewish side are in fact notes worthy. They seem to bear witness to an alliance of Christians and Jews that scarcely can be explained but by assuming as motive to the persecution of the Christians not religious fanaticism but policy, the rivalry between Persia and Byzantium, as represented by Masrūq and Abyssinia respectively.

There is in the Book of the Himyarites a person of special interest in this connection, viz. Dhū-Yazan, the right-hand man and willing servant of Masrūq. We do not know if the Book of the Himyarites has described his fortunes under and after the Abyssinian expedition of punishment. But we know from a brilliant narrative by Ṭabarī¹⁾ how Saif b. Dhū-Yazan finally became an instrument for the definite crushing of the Abyssinian supremacy in South Arabia. He came from his land to al-Ḥīra and was introduced by the king of al-Ḥīra to the Persian court. There he brought it about that an army was sent under a Persian general to South Arabia by the help of which the Abyssinians were now definitely cast out. As to this Saif b. Dhū-Yazan, his name and his family, I refer to Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden* (Leyden 1879), p. 220, note 4, cf. also Martin Hartmann, *Die Arabische Frage* (Leipzig 1909), p. 508. It suffices, here, to call attention to this interesting fact, that the Book of the Himyarites, written already several years before the time of this Saif b. Dhū-Yazan, knows a member of the same family Dhū-Yazan,²⁾ who was also a leading person on the nationalist Himyaritic side. It is the same policy in both cases. And perhaps even the real purpose of Masrūq when he sent his embassy to al-Ḥīra was not very different from that of Saif b. Dhū-Yazan a generation later on. Perhaps the real object of this embassy was by this way to obtain the assistance of the Persians against the reprisals which inevitably threatened from the Abyssinians. That it was not, as Simeon of Bēth Arshām wishes to make us believe, merely to provoke persecutions of Christians, is, I think, tolerably evident.

¹⁾ *Annales I*, p. 921—928.

²⁾ Cf., for instance, Eduard Glaser, *Zwei Inschriften über den Dammbruch von Mārib*, p. 75, 92.

Particularly difficult are the problems that meet him who tries to combine the information given by the Byzantine historiographers with the ecclesiastical tradition. The difficulties are of many kinds. A special obstacle in this question is, however, the rather fantastic variety in the names of the acting persons. Owing to this variety nearly every combination is possible and nearly every combination highly problematical. Certainly there is a way out of many an embarrassment if one can prove a difficult name to be nothing but a variant, a misreading or a miswriting, of another name. But this method, unfortunately, has its inconvenience also. For by using Greek, Syriac, Arabic and Ethiopian letters, one can arrive at almost any result except one that can be relied upon.

To illustrate the variety of names, and of the ways of deriving one from another, I merely mention here the name of the Jewish king who in the Book of the Himyarites is called Masrūq. In the *Acta* his name is Dunaas and Dunaan, and this name then has been identified with such names, occurring in other sources, as Dimnos, Damnos, Dimion, Dimianos, Damianos, Dhū-Nuwās.¹⁾ Further Aksonodon is said to be, by the intermediate stage *Ξενοδών* (after the confusion of an original *A* in the midst of the word with *Δ*) a mistake for this same Dunaas, which elsewhere has given rise to the form Phineas, a deformation that has been explained in, at least, two different ways. It is by no means astonishing if such combinations admitted by some scholars are rejected by others, or if, in return, other combinations are proposed, such as, for instance, for Aksonodon, either Axum or *Ἰξω Ἰνδών*. Against such a method one must not make too serious objections in a single case; but its application requires the greatest caution. By indulging in it one does nothing but confuse the issue.²⁾

It is obvious, however, that from a tradition that labours with such great uncertainty no earnest objections can be made against the historical value of the Book of the Himyarites in this special respect. Some of the names offered by this work undoubtedly appear as better forms for names given elsewhere in the tradition. This is the case with *Hārith* as shown above (p. lx), with *Ruhm* of which the later tradition has made *Rome*, *Dauma* and *Demāhā*, and with the name of the father of this woman, *Azma'*, in the Letter of Simeon called *Azmani*. In this

¹⁾ See above, p. xlii.

²⁾ J. Halévy, in his articles mentioned above, went far in this respect.

class I reckon also the name Kāleb for the Abyssinian king (cf. above, p. xlii). The Book of the Himyarites makes clear now that this name belongs to the very oldest form of the tradition.

More problematic is perhaps the name of the Jewish king, Masrūq. As observed already, and well known, this name occurs, for this person, only in the introductory note to the hymn of Joh. Psaltes, and in the notice in the Chronicle from Saard referred to above. Now it obviously cannot be the object of a *priori* deductions whether the true name of this king was Masrūq or Dhū-Nuwās, which latter is his name in the Muhammadan tradition and has been thought to be the original form of the name Dunaas (Dunaan) in the Acta. Also the name Masrūq occurs as a name of persons in the historical works of the Arabs treating of just this epoch. Nor can it be shown in a more definite way, that his real name was a combination of both, i. e. Masrūq (b. ?) Dhū-Nuwās, though it would make little difficulty to see in the name Dhū-Nuwās a family-name of a type well known from names such as Dhū-Yazan, Dhū-Jadan, Dhū-Qifān and many others.¹⁾ This name then had to be preceded by a more personal name such as Saif (above, p. lxx) or, in this case, possibly, Masrūq. The name Dhū-Nuwās strikes one, specially in the interpretation of M. Hartmann²⁾ as Sabaean Dhū-Nu'ās, as being too genuine to be rejected. On the other hand Masrūq is not only possibly the complement to this name sought for³⁾, but is, moreover, now, after the recovery of the Book of the Himyarites, really supported by the oldest tradition. By no means, obviously, can a controversy of this kind between the Book of the Himyarites and the other sources be used as an argument against the historical value of the Book.⁴⁾ This value cannot be questioned only on account of its information being in contradiction to that of other narratives.

In return, what one must expect to find in the Book of the Himyarites, if it really has such an origin as it wishes to make us believe

¹⁾ Cf. G. Kampfmeyer, *Südarabisches* in ZDMG, vol. 54 (1900), p. 624 note 2, and the inscriptions.

²⁾ See *Arabische Frage*, p. 292 and, before, H. Winkler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, p. 329, cf. C. Conti Rossini in *Journal Asiatique*, Sér. 11, T. 18 (1921), p. 32 and, for an instance, CIS IV, No. 68:1.

³⁾ As well known, the Muhammadan tradition gives him the name Zur'a.

⁴⁾ In this connection it should be observed, perhaps, that R. Schröter (ZDMG, vol. 31, 1877, p. 361 note 1) interpreted the name Masrūq as a rendering of the (North-) Arabian Dhū-Nuwās viz. "the man with the locks." The same interpretation (of Dhū-Nuwās) gives also Nashwān (see *Angaben*, p. 1*1, 18) and Kitāb al-aghānī, vol. 20, p. A; another of Masrūq Glaser, *Zwei Inschriften über den Dammbruch von Mārib*, p. 97.

itself, is some evidence, at least, of an acquaintance with South-Arabian conditions that exceeds what an otherwise well-informed Syrian of that epoch can be thought likely to have possessed.

As to the general historical detail we have no means of deciding if it is based on information that could not be procured but from South Arabia. Concerning, further, the main martyrologies, they of course necessarily have a more universal and international character. The conflict itself is always between Christendom and another religion, or the State. And the methods of martyring human beings, also, little by little have grown international. A certain local colour perhaps is given to the martyrdom of Ḥabṣa and the two Ḥayya's by the camels employed to track two of these martyrs out in the desert. This detail, however, seems too insignificant and too easily invented after well-known models (e.g., the horses of the martyrdom of Hippolyte and of others) to prove anything as to the origin of the narrative. Certainly, however, the Book bears, in its martyrological matter, a somewhat peculiar character, but this depends more on the persecutors being Jews than on the scene being Yaman.¹⁾

More importance, in this respect, must be attributed to the places and persons, or names of places and persons, met with in the Book. Even an acquaintance with Ṣafār, Najrān, Mārib, Ḥaḍramaut and (perhaps) Hajarēn was, judging from the Syriac Literature hitherto known, by no means a *commune bonum* in the Syriac world in the first half of 6th century. Moreover, at that epoch, to find out, in a Syriac monastery, that the name Dhū-Yazan would be a most appropriate name for a leader of a national and, therefore, anti-Abyssinian (i. e., anti-Christian) party of the Himyarites, was far beyond what could be expected of a Syriac writer. Probably no such writer could think it at all important what name he gave the fictitious hero of a story he invented. Still more striking is the name Jaw for the family or tribe of which the Martyr Ruhm was a member (cf. above, p. lix). Such a particular could be of no interest to the readers of a Syriac legend of Martyrs; in the mouth of the Himyaritic informants of our author it was another indication as to the rank and social position of that martyr. To us this name was not known hitherto, as the name of a family or

¹⁾ It is worth noticing, however, that the ceremony of dipping the finger in a bowl filled with blood (see above, p. lvii), has nothing specially to do with Judaism, but is in connection with customs testified to, in later times at least (cf. Doughty, *Travels*, vol. II, p. 41), as current in Yaman.

a tribe, except from the inscriptions¹.) As a name of a district (Yamāma) it is well known to the Muhammadan authors.

Highly interesting also is the mentioning of a Himyaritic king of the predecessors of Masrūq with the name Ma'dikarib.²) He had borrowed money from Ruhm, who later on seems to have remitted the debt. This name also is known from the inscriptions as the name of persons of royal family, kings or others. E. Glaser, H. Winckler and M. Hartmann have supposed, on the perhaps not quite secure basis of a restoration of the inscription Seetzen IV, that a certain Ma'dikarib Jan'am, son of Sharāḥbi'il Yakkuf, was king of Saba, Raidān etc. about A.D. 500, that is precisely at the time postulated also for the Ma'dikarib of our text.³) The Muhammadan historiographers know nothing about him nor, on the whole, anything certain about these early pre-Muhammadan times. The name Ma'dikarib, however, reached them in various combinations.

There is no further evidence needed, I think, to prove that the Book of the Himyarites does, in fact, show a knowledge of South-Arabian affairs that cannot be explained but as the result of direct information. Certainly such points as just mentioned cannot possibly be products of the imagination of a pious teller of legends. The names of the other characters, moreover, give no opportunity of connecting them with facts otherwise witnessed by history or inscriptions. A peculiarity, however, of the Book of the Himyarites is the lists of martyrs, men and women, inserted in Chapters XIX and XX. No assertion can be made, of course, as to their actual correctness. Still they are interesting as lists of names of the 6th century. If they can, besides, maintain their claim of being lists of Himyaritic names of that epoch, they are to be considered all the more important. In criticizing them one must bear in mind, of course, just as in the case of the main narrative, that an authentic representation is not necessarily a correct one

¹) As to the original appellative meaning of the word cf. E. Glaser, *Altjemenische Nachrichten* (München 1908), p. 105—107, M. Hartmann, *Die arabische Frage*, p. 365, N. Rhodokanakis, *Studien zur Lexikographie u. Grammatik d. Altsüdarabischen* II, p. 8 sqq.

²) The name is written Ma'dikarim with *m* instead of *b* (cf. below, p. xcii). In the same way (Μαδίκαρμος) it is rendered by Theophanes (cited in Rothstein, *Die Dynastie d. Lahmiden in al-Hira*, p. 83. Moreover *m*, not *b*, is in fact the third radical of the root (cf. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik* I, p. 225).

³) See E. Glaser, *Zwei Inschriften über den Dammbruch von Märib*, p. 26f., 86ff., H. Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen* I, p. 329, M. Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 481f. and cf. also C. Conti Rossini, *op. cit.* in *Rendiconti della Acad. dei Lincei*, Ser. 5, vol. XIX (1910), p. 718f.

in every detail. Many mistakes arise in writing it down and others are added in the course of time. Moreover the Syriac script, specially in rendering foreign names, is a very inadequate one, capable of manifold interpretation. And this inconvenience is not reduced by the fact that the script of the South-Arabian inscriptions, which have to offer us the samples for comparison, is not less ambiguous (see below pp.lxxx ff.).

Notwithstanding these difficulties it is beyond doubt that a certain number of the names in the lists are in fact good Himyaritic ones known from the inscriptions. Others are known from the Muhammadan historiographers as belonging specially to the ancient traditions of South Arabia. Others seem to have been current since old times all over Arabia. Finally there remain some names which have resisted till now my efforts to interpret them. Further examination will show if they can be explained in the form offered by the text or if one must fall back upon the expedient of conjecture, in this case, more than usually hazardous.¹⁾

Be that as it may, even these names, in my opinion, are new evidence of the authenticity of the Book. For scarcely would an author of legends in this epoch have taken it into his head to invent names for his heroes. And, if he had, for what purpose would he have taken the trouble to draw up long lists of names without real importance to the rest of his narrative. And, if he did, he would never have imagined that the best way to mystify his readers would be the inexpressibly simple method of repeating two or three or more times the same name in his list. And, if he had invented this easy method of producing endless lists, what an artful idea suddenly to stop and declare, in the heading of chapter XXIV, that he would now pass on to martyrs "the names of whom we have not been able to learn"!

If, on the other hand, the Book could be shown to contain names or facts inconsistent with its pretended age and origin, it would have to be accepted as evidence in the contrary direction. In a most interesting and elucidating review²⁾ of my preliminary note on the Book of the Himyarites, Professor C. Conti Rossini has pointed out the names Umayyah and Abdallah as such names, belonging only to the North-Arabian territory.

Now, it is true, it would not be unduly remarkable, if, amongst the Syrians, Greeks, Persians, and Abyssinians in Yaman there had

¹⁾ Cf. below, pp.lxxxiff.

²⁾ See *Rivista degli Studi orientali*, vol. IX, p. 426—30.

appeared also two Arabs from the Centre or North of the Peninsula. But the persons here considered are obviously meant, by the author and his narrative, to be genuine Himyarites. Our knowledge, however, of the names of the Himyarites is scarcely perfect enough to allow of categorically denying the occurrence of the name Umayyah amongst them.¹⁾ As to the name Abdallah the problem seems more complicated. For the Himyarites used, as the inscriptions certify, the names Abd-il (Safaitic עבדאל) and Abd-lāt, and it is not very probable that they used, in addition, also the Arabic name Abdallah. Neither is there, in my eyes, any way of interpreting the Syriac ܐܒܕܝܠ as Abd-il or Abd-lāt. There occurs, it is true, in the Safaitic and Lihyanic²⁾ inscriptions, in names like ܐܠܗܐ, ܐܠܗܐ, a form of the word for God (ܐܠܗ) that composed with עבד, would give exactly our name ܐܒܕܝܠ. Unfortunately this ܐܠܗ probably is nothing but the same North-Arabic Allāh and therefore of no help in vindicating a South-Arabic origin to the name in question. So there remains nothing but, as the last resource, to think that North-Arabic names had gained ground among the Himyarites at this epoch together with the North-Arabic dialect (cf. Nöldeke in *GGA* 1899, p. 828), or else that the Syriac author has changed the real name of his informant, "the believing Abdallah", from its heathen form Abd-il or Abd-lāt into a name more familiar in the parts where he lived. This and similar changes were often repeated later on in Muhammadan times.³⁾

Whatever may be the true explanation, certainly the evidence of the name Abdallah must be supported by many other and more far-reaching objections before it can seriously menace the authenticity and the historical value of the Book of the Himyarites.

As to the chief historical features of the narrative they do not differ very much from those given in the Acta. It is a pity, however, that the remains of the Book of the Himyarites do not allow us to establish, in a definite way, the date of the first Abyssinian expedition to Yaman related in Chapters V—VII.

As to the persecution it is often thought that the description given by the Acta is highly exaggerated. As regards the number of the

¹⁾ In F. Wüstenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen der Arabischen Stämme und Familien*, the name occurs frequently also among the South-Arabian tribes.

²⁾ See Dussaud et Macler, *Mission*, p. 624, D. H. Müller, *Epigraphische Denkmäler*, p. 59 f.

³⁾ See for instances J. Wellhausen, *Reste Arabischen Heidentums*, 2. edition, p. 32 and below, p. lxxxii.

victims it is impossible to state now whether the figure given by the Acta (more than 4000) is in conformity with the figures once given in the Book. It is of no very great importance, however, whether, in reality, the victims were 500 or 5000. In a much more important respect the Book of the Himyarites teaches us that the ecclesiastical tradition did anything but exaggerate. For it shows us that the persecution was by no means restricted to Najrān, as that tradition makes us think, but that, on the contrary, it extended widely over Yaman and Ḥaḍramaut.

This, again, is of importance as indicating a correspondingly wide spread of Christianity in these parts at that epoch. During the following Abyssinian rule Christianity, of course, could but increase all over the land. This is of interest for the conception it gives us of the state of thought and religion in South Arabia in the century before Muhammad. Obviously Christianity, as well as Judaism, was at that time in force there, the old paganism meanwhile, probably, losing more and more ground. If such was the case it is not impossible that it is to the South of Arabia we have to look out for the suggestions and influences which stirred up the Arabian prophet to his preaching. For, although the route toward civilisation, from Najrān and from Yaman as a whole, went through al-Ḥīra, there certainly was another way that passed by Mecca and Medina.¹⁾

The close relations which, according to the Book of the Himyarites, prevailed between the Christians of Yaman and the Abyssinians are of interest too. They make us understand better how it was that Muhammad sought a refuge for his followers in Abyssinia. In this policy Muhammad did nothing but follow a well-trodden path.

In these and many other respects, the Book of the Himyarites throws light upon the South of Arabia of the 6th century. In this I see the main importance of its discovery.

¹⁾ Too late to be used in the preceding inquiry I received two works bearing, partly, on the problems here discussed, viz. D. S. Margoliouth, *The Relations between Arabs and Israelites prior to the Rise of Islam* (London 1924) and Tor Andrae, *Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum* (*Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift*, vol. 23, Uppsala 1924, pp. 149–206). The views of Dr. Andrae are, as a whole, more in conformity with my own than those of Professor Margoliouth (op. cit., pp. 57–83) are.

APPENDIX

NAMES OF PERSONS AND PLACES

a) Prefatory remarks on the Personal Names.

The actors in the narrative of the Book of the Himyarites are not very many and their names alone could not produce a very long list. The great majority of the names registered below are from the two lists of martyrs given on pp. 24^b—25^b and p. 30^b, and containing names of men and names of women respectively.

These names of persons are of special interest and present special difficulties. There are amongst them no names characteristic of the Christian Syrians except a few biblical names ascribed to foreign clerics staying in Najrān. A great many of the names may be identified as Arabic e. g. 'Amr, Umayyah, Jarir, Mu'āwiya and others, but not a few of them are known as specially used in South Arabia, such as Jadan, Dhū-Yazan, Haufa'amm, Mauhaba, Ma'dikarib, Marthad, whilst others are, as far as I am aware, hitherto unknown. The occurrence of genuine South-Arabian names in the text, as well as the claim of the Book of the Himyarites itself to be based on direct and authentic information from the land of the Himyarites, makes it likely that even these unknown names are to be interpreted as being of South-Arabian origin.

Thus, in the following list, wherever the text does not expressly give a name as belonging to a foreigner (non-Himyarite), I have done my best to find in the Sabaeen inscriptions a name with which that name may be compared, if not as to its actual form, at least as to its root. Such names are noted in the following list in Sabaeen characters.¹⁾ If I failed there I fell back upon the Lihyanic and Safaitic, etc. inscriptions, giving, in the list, the result in Hebrew characters. Lastly I have given equivalents from Arabic literature using the Indices to

¹⁾ It should be observed that it seems of no interest, in this case, to distinguish between inscriptions in different South-Arabian dialects, nor have I limited the comparison to strictly personal names. A name known as the name of a tribe or place may easily appear elsewhere as, or in, the name of a person.

Ibn Hishām, Ṭabarī, Kitāb al-aghānī, Ḥamāsa and other works,¹⁾ but specially those of al-Ḥamdānī, Nashwān and Ibn Duraid which treat of the South-Arabian traditions.²⁾

Unfortunately there are many stumbling-blocks in the way. First there is the question of the Syriac representation of those foreign names.

¹⁾ For names of women see also E. Gratzl, *Die altarabischen Frauennamen* (Leipzig 1906).

²⁾ I use the following abbreviations:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| <i>Aghānī Indices</i> | for <i>Tables alphabétiques du Kitāb al-Aghānī rédigées</i> p. I. Guidi (Leide 1900). |
| Dussaud et Macler | for B. Dussaud et F. Macler, <i>Rapport sur une mission scientifique dans les régions désertiques de la Syrie moyenne</i> (Paris 1902). If reference to a page is not given the word may be found by help of the Glossary (pp. 608—639). |
| Glaser, <i>Dammbruch</i> | for Eduard Glaser, <i>Zwei Inschriften über den Dammbruch von Mārib (Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft, 1897, 6)</i> . |
| Glaser, <i>Nachrichten</i> | for Eduard Glaser, <i>Altjemenische Nachrichten</i> (München 1908). |
| Glaser, <i>Studien</i> | for Eduard Glaser, <i>Altjemenische Studien. Nach dem Tode des Verfassers herausgegeben von Otto Weber</i> (I, Leipzig 1923). |
| Ḥamdānī | for <i>Al-Ḥamdānī's Geographie der Arabischen Halbinsel</i> herausgegeben von D. H. Müller (Leiden 1884). |
| Hartmann, <i>Arab. Frage</i> | for M. Hartmann, <i>Der Islamische Orient, Band II, Die Arabische Frage</i> (Leipzig 1909). |
| Hommel, <i>Chrestomathie</i> | for F. Hommel, <i>Süd-Arabische Chrestomathie</i> (München 1893). |
| Hommel, <i>Aufsätze</i> | for F. Hommel, <i>Aufsätze und Abhandlungen arabistisch-semitologischen Inhalts</i> (München 1892). |
| Ibn Duraid | for <i>Ibn-Doreid's genealogisch-etymologisches Handbuch</i> herausg. von F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen 1854). |
| Jaussen et Savignac | for Jaussen et Savignac, <i>Mission archéologique en Arabie</i> (Paris 1909, 1914). |
| Lidzbarski, <i>Ephemeris</i> | for M. Lidzbarski, <i>Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik I—III</i> (Giessen 1902—1915). |
| Littmann, <i>Entzifferung</i> | for E. Littmann, <i>Zur Entzifferung der Ṣafā-Inschriften</i> (Leipzig 1901). |
| Littmann, <i>Inscriptions</i> | for E. Littmann, <i>Semitic Inscriptions (Part IV of the Publications of an American archaeological expedition to Syria 1899—1900, New-York 1905)</i> . |
| Mordtmann, <i>Beiträge</i> | for D. H. Mordtmann, <i>Beiträge zur Minäischen Epigraphik (Semitistische Studien 12, Weimar 1896)</i> . |
| Mordtmann und Müller | for J. H. Mordtmann und D. H. Müller, <i>Sabäische Denkmäler aus Arabien (Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften Bd. 33, Wien 1883)</i> . |
| Müller, <i>Epigr. Denkm.</i> | for D. H. Müller, <i>Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien (Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften Bd. 37, Wien 1889)</i> . |
| Nashwān, <i>Angaben</i> | for <i>Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Naṣwān's im Sams al-'ulūm</i> herausg. von 'Azimuddin Aḥmad ("E. J. W. Gibb Memorial," vol. xxiv). |
| Rhodokanakis, <i>Studien</i> | for N. Rhodokanakis, <i>Studien zur Lexikographie und Grammatik des Altsüdarabischen (Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien 1915, 1917)</i> . |
| Weber, <i>Studien</i> | for O. Weber, <i>Studien zur Südarabischen Altertumskunde I—III (Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft 1901, 1907)</i> . |

Abbreviations such as CIS, RSO, WZKM, ZDMG need no explanation.

The Syriac alphabet not being specially suited for the phonology of the South-Arabian language, some letters are necessarily used in an ambiguous way; thus ܕ is not only *d* but also *dh* (e. g. ܕܐܝܬܐ, ܕܝܬܐ), ܬ is *t* and *th* (e. g. ܬܠܬܐ, ܬܠܬܬܐ), ܥ is *c* and *gh* (e. g. ܥܡܪܐ), ܗ is *h* and *kh* (e. g. ܗܠܐ, ܗܠܬܐ), ܫ is *ś* and *ḡ* (e. g. ܫܬܐ, ܫܬܬܐ), ܦ is *p* (e. g. ܦܠܥܐ) and *z* (e. g. ܦܥܐ). As to the vowels Syriac is, it is true, a little better than Sabaean itself, as, at least, the vowel *u*, *ū* is generally expressed by a • and the vowel *i*, *ī* may be written ܐ. An *a* is expressed only at the end of the word. In two instances our MS. sets an ܐ for *ā* within the word, viz. in ܐܡܪܐ and ܡܠܟܐ. If this should be an imitation of the Arabic mode of writing, as I really think it must be,¹⁾ then it can certainly be accounted for in our MS., dated the year 932 A. D., but it cannot belong to the original work of the 6th century as the orthography of Arabic literature did not exist at that time.

Notwithstanding this ability of the Syriac language to express vowels, the ambiguity of most names remains just as puzzling in Syriac transcriptions as in the South-Arabian originals. It is impossible to say if ܡܠܟܐ means 'Amr or 'Āmir or 'Ammār, and I do not think that the various ways of punctuating this word met with in the fragments afford any reliable help in fixing its pronunciation. Similarly ܡܠܟܐ can be read Jabrah, Jabarāh, Jabirah, Jābirah (Jābrah), Jabbārah or Jibrah and so on. It is of course the same with the names in the Sabaean inscriptions. This fact is well illustrated by the name 𐩦𐩣𐩪 cited below, p. lxxxvii. As remarked there, it corresponds, with regard to its form, just as well to ܡܠܟܐ in the Syriac script as to ܡܠܟܐ. This is to be borne in mind when reading my transcription of the names in the following list, as well as in the translation of the text. Strictly speaking it is not absolutely certain that ܡܠܟܐ is Kāleb and ܡܠܟܐ Hārith, much less that I am in the right in all the interpretations of names otherwise proposed. They are not to be taken too rigorously. In many cases they are likely to be correct, in others they are chosen according to a certain probability only to avoid too many transcriptions like Z'WNS, which often, it is true, are more safe and perhaps more correct but always more impractical than the others.

Special attention is due to some endings. The feminine termination (Sabaean X, Ar. ڤ) is written either, as its Syriac equivalent, ܐ (e. g.

¹⁾ Other instances are ܡܠܟܐ, with two Lamadhs, ܡܠܟܐ and ܡܠܟܐ without ܐ after the first letter (cf. below, p. lxxxii).

ܦܠܝܬܐ) or ܐ (or ܐ) as in ܦܠܝܬܐ, ܦܠܝܬܐ. As to the latter writing cf. Nöldeke in *ZA*, vol. xii, p. 179f., *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1899, p. 827, and Dussaud et Macler, *Mission*, p. 532f. Another termination is ܐ. It occurs in words as ܦܠܝܬܐ (masc.), ܦܠܝܬܐ (masc.), ܦܠܝܬܐ (masc.), ܦܠܝܬܐ (masc.), ܦܠܝܬܐ (fem.), ܦܠܝܬܐ (masc.), ܦܠܝܬܐ (masc.), ܦܠܝܬܐ (fem.), ܦܠܝܬܐ (fem.), ܦܠܝܬܐ (masc.). But this ܐ certainly does not mean the same termination in all these cases. In ܦܠܝܬܐ it represents the vowel *i*, in ܦܠܝܬܐ and ܦܠܝܬܐ probably, in the mind of the writer, the Greek *η*, in ܦܠܝܬܐ the suffix *l*. p. sing. (*ai*). In the other cases it might be the termination *ai* of a feminine word, or the termination *ai* common in hypocoristics, or, finally, it may mean the ending *ī* (ܝ) of the "nomina relativa." The ending *l* is not only the termination of a feminine; in other cases it stands for the Arabic ending *اء*, e. g. ܦܠܝܬܐ (cf. ܦܠܝܬܐ), ܦܠܝܬܐ, or possibly for Arabic *ي*. In addition to the inadequacy of the Syriac writing here referred to, other difficulties arise from the uncertainty as to the correctness of the present text. This text in other respects inspires a high degree of confidence. Still one must realize not only how easily a mistake can arise in Syriac script out of the many similar letters, especially in copying such long lists, where the meaning fails to hold the attention of the scribe, but, also, that no words are more liable in themselves to be disfigured than foreign proper names. If, then, many names remain not only ambiguous as to their forms but unexplained as to their very roots, we may seek the explanation of that fact not only in our insufficient knowledge of the old South-Arabian dialects, but also, sometimes, in an incorrect rendering of the names themselves.

There are different cases to be considered here. First a rather trifling but obvious one. Amongst the names there is one, ܦܠܝܬܐ, compounded with the Arabic ܦܠܝܬܐ (Abū), and several compounded in the same way with the Arabic ܦܠܝܬܐ (Ummu; cf. List of names). But instead of names with Arabic ܦܠܝܬܐ we meet in our text only two names compounded with Syriac ܦܠܝܬܐ and ܦܠܝܬܐ. There cannot be any doubt here that the Syriac author (or scribe) has changed Arabic *Ibn* into Syriac *Bar*. It is, besides, not without interest to meet here with the case-endings *ū* and *u*, respectively, in the words ܦܠܝܬܐ and ܦܠܝܬܐ. The last word is once written without that vowel: ܦܠܝܬܐ, another time without the first *u*: ܦܠܝܬܐ.

There are cases of a certain inconsistency as to the use of *o* for

the vowel *u* or in the diphthong *au*. Thus finding, in addition to the cases just spoken of, the names 𐩧𐩣𐩪 (Busr), 𐩡𐩣𐩪 (Mundhar), 𐩡𐩣𐩪 (Mu'āwiya), 𐩡𐩣𐩪 (Nu'mān?) without *o* and 𐩡𐩣𐩪 beside 𐩡𐩣𐩪, one feels tempted to compare also such instances as 𐩡𐩣𐩪 and 𐩡𐩣𐩪, 𐩡𐩣𐩪 and 𐩡𐩣𐩪, perhaps also 𐩡𐩣𐩪 and 𐩡𐩣𐩪. By extending this, one might perhaps even take such names as 𐩡𐩣𐩪, 𐩡𐩣𐩪, 𐩡𐩣𐩪, and others as diminutives and pronounce them Judaida, Kulail, Shulaim, and so on.

Some names of women afford another instance. It is somewhat puzzling to come across such forms, amongst the names of women, as 𐩡𐩣𐩪, 𐩡𐩣𐩪, 𐩡𐩣𐩪, 𐩡𐩣𐩪. There is, however, an easy solution of this difficulty if we suppose that 𐩡𐩣𐩪 has dropped out by mistake before these names, and therefore read 𐩡𐩣𐩪 𐩡𐩣𐩪, 𐩡𐩣𐩪 𐩡𐩣𐩪, and so on. In an analogous way one could, if necessary, remodel names by adding before them such words as 𐩡𐩣𐩪 or 𐩡𐩣𐩪, though I see no reason for doing so except, possibly, in one case. The name I have in mind is 𐩡𐩣𐩪, which occurs three times (p. 30^b) as a name for women. It is common in the South-Arabian inscriptions as the name of a god in such compounds as Sa'd-Aum, Wabh-Aum, and others. Now a god's name is not seldom applied to a man, but in this case, as already stated, 𐩡𐩣𐩪 stands for a woman, and therefore it would, in my opinion, be not improbable that a form of a word as 𐩡𐩣𐩪 (𐩡𐩣𐩪) *maid* should be restored before it. Perhaps the missing word has been intentionally suppressed, the name of the saint martyrs in this case being too obviously a heathen name. A much easier way is, however, to connect this 𐩡𐩣𐩪 with the following name and read not 𐩡𐩣𐩪 . 𐩡𐩣𐩪, as has the MS. (p. 30, 17), but 𐩡𐩣𐩪 𐩡𐩣𐩪, as has just been proposed for another reason. In this case one must, of course, also read 𐩡𐩣𐩪 𐩡𐩣𐩪 (p. 30^b, 24) and 𐩡𐩣𐩪 𐩡𐩣𐩪 (l. 26).

The next step is to go further in conjectural corrections of the actual forms of the names. Thus it requires only a very slight change of the name 𐩡𐩣𐩪, which I cannot think correct, but which is clearly so written in the MS, to make it the well-known name 𐩡𐩣𐩪, that occurs several times in the same list. It would be quite as easy to change the name 𐩡𐩣𐩪, unknown elsewhere, into 𐩡𐩣𐩪, a well-known Arabic name. Even less is required to make the two now different names 𐩡𐩣𐩪 and 𐩡𐩣𐩪 into two instances of one name.

A somewhat different case is presented by the name 𐩦𐩣 (p. 24^a). It is preceded, as are most of the names in the lists, by the conjunction 𐩠. Now we are not entitled, perhaps, to say that there could not have been such a name in use in Yaman at the epoch in question. But on the other hand it requires no great amount of imagination to guess that the 𐩠 just spoken of in reality is a haplography, and that we should read not 𐩦𐩣 but 𐩦𐩣𐩠 "and Wabh" and so produce a name that counts among the most common of all names in South Arabia. The conjunction (𐩠) is omitted in a few other cases in this list (see pp. 24^b, 6. 30^b, 20. 23).

No doubt it will in many cases prove quite reasonable and even necessary to undertake such corrections as those here proposed, and even some others involving greater alterations. For the present, however, in editing for the first time the remains of the Book of the Himyarites, I think it better not to meddle with the names given in the text but to reproduce them just as they are, inviting the special students of Sabaeen, and other interested, to examine them and decide how to interpret or correct them.

Of a special class are the names 𐩦𐩣𐩠, 𐩦𐩣𐩠, 𐩦𐩣𐩠, 𐩦𐩣𐩠, and perhaps also 𐩦𐩣 and 𐩦𐩣𐩠. As to the four first mentioned it can scarcely be doubted that they are to be connected with 𐩦𐩣𐩠, 𐩦𐩣𐩠, 𐩦𐩣𐩠, 𐩦𐩣𐩠 (from the root represented also in the list by the names 𐩦𐩣𐩠 and 𐩦𐩣𐩠), and 𐩦𐩣𐩠. The original (Semitic) *s*-sound of the roots of these names is known to be *š* (*sh*) which in Arabic as well as in Sabaeen and Ethiopic has become *s*. Still there seems, at least in Sabaeen, to have been some difference between this *s* (from Semitic *š*) and the original (Semitic) *s* still retained in the language. This is proved by the attempt made in some inscriptions to distinguish this latter (original) *s* by a special letter 𐩦 from the other (corresponding to Semitic *š*).¹⁾ The fact, however, that there are in the inscriptions but few instances of the use of that new letter, the two *s*-sounds, notwithstanding their different origin, being written, as a rule, by the same letter (𐩦), seems to indicate that the difference in their pronunciation was only a dialectical one and restricted within narrow limits. Now I can suggest no other explanation of the *sh* in the names here spoken of than that the dialect in which these names were brought to the ears of the writer

¹⁾ See Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergl. Gramm. d. Semitischen Sprachen* I, p. 130.

retained some peculiarity in the pronunciation of *s* that made him take it for a *sh*. Cf. Safaitic שלם, Dussaud et Macler, *Mission*, p. 497 (No. 68). Be this as it may, if the names *שמעיה* etc. are in fact but variants for *שמעל* etc., the same might be the case with *שמ* (for *שמח*),¹⁾ and perhaps also with *שמל* for *שמח* (Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* II, pp. 383, 390). In the case of *שמ* one may compare the name שמרת in a Thamudene graffito in Jaussen et Savignac, *Mission* II, p. 624 (No. 643). In the Nabataean inscriptions the name is well known to be written שער; cf. Brockelmann 1. 1. and the inscriptions in Jaussen et Savignac and Littmann.

b) List of Names of Persons and Places.²⁾

אבבא 'B' BWT (or אבבא Abbā BWT?), 7^b, l. 1, cf. l. 7; seems to be the name or title of the commander of the Abyssinians in Zafār. An אבנא(?) in Gl. 1548|1549 l. 2 see Glaser, *Nachrichten*, pp. 77 and 81.

אבא Abū 'Afr, 24^b; see under אבא.

אבש 'BYSH (Abyash?), 24^b (twice).

אברהם Abraham a) Persian deacon, 14^b, 25^a(?); b) "Young man" martyred, 21^a, 25^a(?).

אברא Abraq, 25^a; cf. אברק (CIS IV 282 and note on l. 1) and Safaitic אברקן (E. Littmann, *Inscriptions*, pp. 127, 155, No. 92, and Dussaud et Macler, p. 600f.; Palmyrene אברוק is uncertain, Littmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 66f.).

אד Add, 24^b; see Littmann, *op. cit.*, p. 104 (No. 107), and *Entzifferung*, p. 49 (V. 197^b).

אדק 'DKY', 25^a.

אדא 'D'a, fem., 5^b.

אום Aum (Umm, Awwām?) fem., 30^b (three times); cf. the name of the god 𐩦𐩣𐩨, common in composite personal names, and the name אום in the Safaitic inscriptions, Dussaud et Macler; but see above, p. lxxxii.

¹⁾ The name *שמח*, however, by a slight alteration could be changed in *שמח*, a name that is better known from Sabaeen inscriptions.

²⁾ This list does not include names of biblical persons. Reference has been made to every column where a name occurs and if it occurs more than once in the column this is indicated. In the case of names which occur very frequently, e. g. Masrūq, only some of the first and last instances are given. Names of women are indicated by "fem.".

Umm(u) Busr, fem. 30^b, l. 24; cf. *ibidem*, l. 13, both incorrect for *Umm*; see *Umm*.

Aumah(?), (Ummah, Awwāmah?), fem., (4^b), 5^a, 21^a, 30^b (three times), 36^b, 37^b, 38^a, 44^a (twice); cf. above, *Umm*.

Ummu Bayya(?), fem., 30^b.

[Ummu] Jabala, fem., 30^b; see *Jabala*.

[Ummu] 'Amr, fem., 30^b; see *Amr*.

[Ummu] Shalshala, fem., 30^b; see *Shalshala*.

Umayya, fem., 30^b; cf. Ar. *umayya* (fem.).

Umayyah, 6^a (twice); cf. Ar. *umayyah* (mask.) and *umayyah*, and Thamudene *umayyah*, Jaussen et Savignac II, p. 568 (No. 324); but see C. Conti Rossini, in *RSO*, vol. IX, p. 427, and see above, pp. lxxv f.

Aus, 25^a; *aus* of the inscriptions, and Safaitic *aus*, cf. Dussaud et Macler, and Littman, *Entzifferung*, p. 60.

Euprepios, 6^a (twice), 55^a, 55^b; Abyssinian bishop.

Ushana(?), fem., 30^b; cf. (perhaps?) *ushana* and see above, pp. lxxxiii f.

Azmam, 25^a.

Azma', 4^b, 25^a, 26^b, . . . 43^b; cf. *azma'* in names of Yamanite tribes, Ibn Doraid, p. 104, Nashwān, *Angaben*, s. vv. *azma'*, *azma'*.

Azfar, 25^a; cf. below *azfar* and (perhaps?) *azfar* of the inscriptions, one of "the eight families."

Azraq, 25^a, 25^b; cf. Ar. *azraq*.

Aḥmam, 25^a; cf. *Aḥmam*.

'YZD (Ayzad?), 24^b; cf. (perhaps?) *Ayzad* (e. g. *CIS* IV, 1 and passim).

'Yla, fem., 30^b; Ar. *ayla* is the *mountain-goat*, but I do not know it as a woman's name; or miswriting for *ayla*, Ar. *ayla*?

Alhān, fem. 30^b; cf. *alhan* (name of a tribe, of a place, and of men) and see Dussaud et Macler, p. 501, note on No. 96, Ar. *alhan*.

Eliya, a) a presbyter from Hirtha dh^e Na'mān, 14^b, and b) the same, or the prophet of the Old Test., 19^b.

Elishba' (Elisabeth), fem., deaconess, 4^b, 22^a (twice).

Ama, fem., 30^b (three times); *ama* of the inscriptions, cf.

Safaitic 𐩢𐩣𐩣 Dussaud et Macler, Littmann, *Entzifferung*, p. 48 f. and Ar. امة as a woman's name (or cf. 𐩣𐩣𐩣?, see p. lxxxii).

𐩣𐩣𐩣 Ummu Busr, fem., 30^b; see above 𐩣𐩣𐩣.

𐩣𐩣 Asad, 24^b; (II) 𐩣𐩣 of the inscriptions.

𐩣𐩣 Ashab(?), 25^a.

𐩣𐩣 Aswar(?), a) martyrs 25^a (twice), 25^b, and (possibly) b) the tributary king appointed by the Abyssinians, 54^a, l. 23 (text very doubtful, see note on p. 54^a, 23); cf. 𐩣𐩣 Littmann, *Entzifferung*, p. 40. But the name might be a mistake (in Syriac script) for 𐩣𐩣, cf. Safaitic 𐩢𐩣𐩣, Dussaud et Macler, Ar. اسود.

𐩣𐩣 Asmā' (or Usāma?), fem., 30^b (three times); cf. 𐩣𐩣 (masc.) Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* I, p. 222 (أسماء) and Ar. اسماء (masc. and fem.).

𐩣𐩣 Asfar, 25^a; or cf. Ar. اسفار(?).

𐩣𐩣 Af'ū, a) heathen magnate of the party of Masrūq, 23^a, 23^b (twice), 24^a; b) a Christian, 35^b (twice), 36^a (four times); cf. Ar. افعى, used as a title or name of renowned judges in Najrān (افعى نجران, Ibn Duraid, p. ٢١٨, 2, Ṭabari I, p. ١١٩, f., and others) and again Liḥyanic 𐩣𐩣𐩣 (Müller, *Epigr. Denkm.* No. 1, 1, pp. 58 seq., Jaussen et Savignac II, p. 441, Liḥyanic No. 77).

𐩣𐩣 Aqām(?), fem., 30^b (twice).

𐩣𐩣 Arqas(?), fem., 30^b.

𐩣𐩣 Baddā, 24^b, 25^a; cf. Ar. بداء (South-Arabian, e. g. al-Hamdānī, pp. ٨٥, ٨٨).

𐩣𐩣 see 𐩣𐩣.

𐩣𐩣 Busr, 24^b, 25^a (twice), 25^b; see 𐩣𐩣 and Ar. بصر, if the point over 𐩣 (in two cases) does not mean Bāsir.

𐩣𐩣 see 𐩣𐩣.

𐩣𐩣 see 𐩣𐩣.

𐩣𐩣 Jabala [fem.?, see p. lxxxii and 𐩣𐩣], 30^b; cf. 𐩣𐩣 in Gl. 618, 91 f. (CIS IV 541) and Ar. جبلة (masc.).

𐩣𐩣 Jabr (Jābir?, or Jabbār?), 24^b (twice), 25^b; cf. 𐩣𐩣 (Dussaud et Macler) and Ar. جبار, جابر, جبر.

جذبه *Jabrah(?)* fem., 30^b; cf. the preceding name; reading not quite certain, see note on the text.

جذبة *Jadida* (Judaida?), fem., 30^b (twice); cf. Ar. جَدَّة and جَدَّان.

جذبه *Jadan*, 25^a; 𐤍𐤁𐤍, well-known name, mostly with 𐤁 or 𐤁𐤍, of one of "the eight families" or of a tribe, but also as a personal name, cf. *CIS* IV 1, 3, 241, 1, 314, 3, 348, 3 seq. and notes; or Ar. جَدَّان.

جذبه *Jaw*, family or tribe, 36^b; 𐤍 not only a geographical name, see C. Landberg, *Arabica* IV (Leyden 1897), pp. 43–46, but also name of a family or tribe, see Hartmann, *Arab. Frage*, p. 365, and (considered as an appellative) Glaser, *Nachrichten*, pp. 104–107, N. Rhodokanakis in *SBWAW*, vol. 177, 2, p. 41 and vol. 185, 3, pp. 8–10, Weber, *Studien* I, p. 54, and cf. *WZKM*, vol. 31 (1924), p. 37, note 3. It should be noted, however, that a name 𐤍 GHW occurs in the Safaitic inscriptions, see Littmann, *Entzifferung*, p. 29.

جذبه *Jaushanah*, fem., 30^b; cf. Ar. جَوْشَن (masc.), Nashwān *Angaben*, p. ۲۱, also *Aghani Indices*.

جذبه *Ghanam* (Ghānim, Ghanām), 24^b, 25^a; 𐤍𐤁𐤍 (fem.) *CIS* IV 450, 1 seq. and note, cf. the tribe 𐤍𐤁𐤍 𐤍𐤁𐤍 *ibid.* 340, 2 and note, Safaitic 𐤍𐤁𐤍 Dussaud et Macler, Ar. غنم, غنم, and غنام, see also Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*, p. 66.

جذبه *Jarir*, 25^a (twice), 25^b; cf. Ar. جَرِير.

جذبه *Dhu(w)āb(?)*, 25^b; cf. Arab. دَوَاب and دواب. As to the name 𐤍𐤁𐤍 see above, p. lxxx, and under 𐤍𐤁𐤍 in this list; cf. Dussaud et Macler, p. 486.

جذبه *Dhuhl*, 24^b (three times), 25^a (twice), 25^b; cf. Safaitic 𐤍𐤁𐤍 Littmann, *Entzifferung*, p. 12, and Ar. ذُهَل.

جذبه *Duwaid(?)*, 25^a, 25^b; probably diminutive of 𐤍𐤁𐤍 (but according to Ibn Duraid, p. ۳۲۱, دُوَيْد is diminutive of دَوْد); cf. 𐤍𐤁𐤍 دُوَيْد, a South-Arabian tribe, see al-Hamdānī, p. ۱۱۶, 16. *David* is less probable. There is also an Ar. دُوَيْد.

جذبه *Dhū-Yazan*, 25^b–28^b, 29^b, 30^a, 44^b; the well-known name

ሐረገዎ of one of "the eight families", in Arabic literature written ذو يزن.

ሐ, *Dhib*, 24^b; በሐ in the inscriptions (e. g. Hal. 233, 3, Hal. 630—631), cf. Mordtmann in *ZDMG*, vol. 52, p. 394 f. and specially p. 400; very common in Safaïtic inscriptions, see Dussaud et Macler, p. 486. Cf. next name.

ሐ, *Dhiba*, fem., 5^b; obviously fem. of the preceding name, cf. Safaïtic דִּבָּה (a man's name), Dussaud et Macler, p. 582, Ar. الذئبة. Amongst poems on the war between the Himyarites and the Abyssinians communicated by Ṭabarī (Annales I, p. ٩٢٩) is one ascribed to a certain ابن الذئبة.

ሐ, DY^c (or D^c?), 25^b; ሐ, though clearly so written in the MS., easily might be a mistake for ሐ in another MS., cf. above, p. lxxxii.

ሐ, *Durrah*(?), fem., 30^b; cf. Ar. درّة or ذرّ, but also ሐ of this list.

ሐ HB, 25^a; cf. ሐ and Liḥyanic ሐ, D. H. Müller, *Epigr. Denkmäler* 68, 1, and Safaïtic ሐ Littmann, *Entzifferung*, p. 38. Or the preceding particle • might be a haplography for ሐ, cf. above, p. lxxxiii.

ሐ, *Habira*, 25^a; cf. Ar. هبيرة.

ሐ, *Hajarēn*; so possibly to read p. 5^b, l. 11 where the letters ሐ are the remains of a place-name. See above, p. liii.

ሐ, HWLH, fem., 30^b; cf. below, ሐ.

ሐ, *Humāma*, fem., 30^b; cf. Safaïtic ሐ Dussaud et Macler, p. 547, and Ar. همام (هَمَام and هُمَام).

ሐ, *Haufa'amm*, 24^b; 𐩧𐩣𐩪𐩣 in the inscriptions, see Glaser, *Studien*, pp. 23 f., cf. ሐ.

ሐ, HLH, fem., 30^b; cf. ሐ.

ሐ, *Hint* (HNZ?), fem., 5^b, 30^b (four times), 49^b; one is tempted to compare Ar. هند, but I cannot explain the ሐ for ḥ.

ሐ, *Hāni*, 25^a, 25^b; 𐩧𐩬𐩬, a name well-known in the inscriptions and the literature, e. g. *CIS* IV 6, 2 (cf. note, p. 17) and 594 *bis*, cf. Dussaud et Macler, p. 573.

ሐ, *Haufa'amm*, 25^a; see ሐ.

ሐ, *Wā'il*, 25^a, 25^b; 𐩧𐩬𐩣, cf. *CIS* IV, ii, p. 126 (note on Gl.

1081, l. 9–10), common in the Safaïtic inscriptions, see Dussaud et Macler. As to the spelling (with l) cf. above, p. lxxx.

𐤨𐤓𐤕 *Waddah*, fem., 30^b; 𐤨𐤓𐤕 in the inscription Langer 13, *ZDMG*, vol. 37, p. 391.

𐤨𐤓𐤕 see under 𐤨𐤓.

𐤌𐤓𐤨𐤕 Z'WNS, 6^a, Abyssinian general; in *RSO*, vol. IX, p. 429, Conti Rossini points at the strange fact that this doubtful name contains almost exactly the letters of the name Dhu-Nuwās, missing in the Book of the Himyarites but of so great an importance in the ecclesiastical tradition. I, for my part, would prefer, in an analogous way, to bring the name into connection with the name of the monk ΖΩΝΕΥΟΣ of Acta § 31.

𐤌𐤓𐤕 ZFRY (Zufrā?), 25^b; cf. 𐤌𐤓 and Ar. زُفْر.

𐤌𐤓𐤕 *Zaqīqa*, fem., 5^a; see above, p. lxi.

𐤌𐤓𐤕 HBB, fem., 30^b; cf. 𐤌𐤓𐤕 (Ḥabīb or Ḥabāb?), name of a place and a tribe, see Hartmann, *Arab. Frage*, p. 313 f., *CIS* IV, ii, p. 60, note on Gl. 891,17, and 𐤌𐤓𐤕, name of persons in Safaïtic (Dussaud et Macler) and in Lihyanic (Jaussen et Savignac II, p. 401, 523), Ar. حباب and the next three names.

𐤌𐤓𐤕 Ḥabīb, 25^a; cf. Ar. حبيب.

𐤌𐤓𐤕 Ḥabība, fem., 30^b and

𐤌𐤓𐤕 Ḥabībah, fem., 30^b; the feminine form of 𐤌𐤓𐤕 in two spellings, cf. Safaïtic 𐤌𐤓𐤕 Dussaud et Macler, p. 593, and Ar. حبيبة.

𐤌𐤓𐤕 Ḥabša(?), fem., 4^b, 31^a–36^b; the form here given is arbitrary, the root ambiguous, 𐤌 representing 𐤕 as well as 𐤌 and 𐤓 𐤕 as well as 𐤌, not to consider the many sound-changes possible.

𐤌𐤓𐤕 Ḥadyah(?), fem., 4^b, 19^a, 21^a (twice); form and root ambiguous.

𐤌𐤓𐤕 Ḥubba(?), fem., 30^b and

𐤌𐤓𐤕 Ḥubbah(?), fem., 30^b; variants of the same name, cf. Safaïtic 𐤌𐤓𐤕 Dussaud et Macler, p. 598, and Ar. حُبَّة.

𐤌𐤓𐤕 Ḥuzaiqa(? or miswriting for Ar. حُزَيْمَة) 24^b; as to the form cf. Mordtmann and Müller, *Sabäische Denkmäler*, p. 54.

- ܠܗܕܝ *Huldai*, 25^b; cf. Safaitic ܠܗܕܝ Dussaud et Macler, p. 605, and Nabataean ܠܗܕܝ Jaussen et Savignac II, p. 200.
- ܠܗܡܐܡܐ *Humāma*, 24^b, 25^a; cf. ܠܗܡܡܐ, Gl. 1081, 8 and note in *CIS* IV, ii, p. 126, Ar. ܠܗܡܡܐ and ܠܗܡܐܡܐ, see also Wellhausen, *Reste ar. Heidentums*, p. 65, and above, the name ܠܗܡܡܐ.
- ܠܗܦܬܐܢ(?) *Hittān*(?), 25^b; cf. Safaitic ܠܗܦܬܐܢ Dussaud et Macler, p. 580, and Ar. ܠܗܦܬܐܢ.
- ܠܗܝܓܐ *Hayya*, fem., 4^b (twice), 5^b, 30^b—32^b, 34^a, 35^a—36^b; cf. ܠܗܝܓܐ (masc.) and Safaitic ܠܗܝ (masc.) Dussaud et Macler, and Ar. ܠܗܝܓܐ.
- ܠܗܝܘܢ *HYWN'*, 3^b, Abyssinian king or general; the name is probably disfigured, Ar. ܠܗܝܘܢ being out of question in this case.
- ܠܗܝܝܢ *Hayyān*, 31^a (twice), 32^b* (three times); the name ܠܗܝܝܢ occurs Hal. 88 and Gl. 265, 3(?), cf. *CIS* IV, i, p. 297, and is also Safaitic and Arabic.
- ܠܗܝܪܡ *HYRM*, 25^b; unknown name, cf., on one side, names as Milk-rām, Il-rām, on the other side names as Hayy-^ʿatht and Hayy-il, and compare the name ܠܗܝܪܡ Jaussen et Savignac II, p. 320 (Minaean No. 64).
- ܠܗܝܪܬܐ *Hirtha* 5^a, 7^a, 14^b and
- ܠܗܝܪܬܐ ܕܠܗܡܐܢ *Hirtha dh^e Na'mān*; town, cf. G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie d. Lahmiden in al-Hira*, p. 12—17.
- ܠܗܠܝܠܐ *Khalila*(?), fem., 30^b; cf. the well-known name ܠܗܠܝܠܐ (e. g. Gl. 618, 16) of one of "the eight families" and Safaitic ܠܗܠܝܠܐ Dussaud et Macler, or Ar. ܠܗܠܝܠܐ.
- ܠܗܡܕܐ *Hamdah* (Hammāda?), fem., 30^b (twice); cf. ܠܗܡܕܐ (fem.) in Gl. 136 (*CIS* IV 179 and note) and Ar. ܠܗܡܕܐ; see below, the name ܠܗܡܕܐ.
- ܠܗܢܐ *Hannah*, 25^b; cf. Ar. ܠܗܢܐ and Safaitic ܠܗܢ Dussaud et Macler, ܠܗܢ-ܠܐ Littmann, *Entzifferung*, p. 57.
- ܠܗܢܐܢܐ *Hananya*, 14^b; a Greek deacon.
- ܠܗܨܢܐ *Hasana*(?), fem., 30^b (twice); cf. Ar. ܠܗܨܢܐ (and?) ܠܗܨܢ in a Thamudene graffito Jaussen et Savignac I, p. 287 (No. 138).
- ܠܗܕܪܡܐܘܬ *Hadramaut*, 5^b (twice), name of a "town", cf. above, p. liii.

ܣܠܐ *Hārith*, a) the head of the Christians in Najrān, 4^b, 5^a, 8^a, 36^b, 49^a(?); b) eight other martyrs, 24^b—25^b; ܠܚܝܬܐ of the inscriptions.

ܣܠܐ *Hāritha*, 25^b; cf. Ar. حارثة.

ܠܚܝܬܐ ṬBH (Ṭaibah?), fem., 30^b; probably a miswriting for ܠܚܝܬܐ q. v.

ܠܚܝܬܐ ṬWRBN (or ṬWRBN), 24^b; Hommel (*Chrestomathie*, p. 132, *Aufsätze*, p. 203) cites ܠܚܝܬܐ as name of a tower; cf. below, the name ܠܚܝܬܐ, and the root ܠܚܝܬ Hal. 359, see CIS IV, ii, p. 232 (note on l. 2), and C. Conti Rossini in *RSO*, vol. IX, p. 601 f., and Ar. name الطرب.

ܠܚܝܬܐ Ṭaibah, fem. 30^b; cf. the appellative ܠܚܝܬܐ Mordtmann und Müller, *Sab. Denkm.*, p. 84, CIS IV 308, l. 4 and note (p. 326 f.), N. Rhodokanakis, *Studien*, I, p. 4, Glaser, *Studien* I, pp. 38 (Gl. 1083, 4f.), 62 (Gl. 1076^a, 4), 73, and Ar. كَيْبَة and كَيْبَة; see above ܠܚܝܬܐ.

ܠܚܝܬܐ Tiberias, 7^a; town in Palestine.

ܠܚܝܬܐ Zafār, [4^a] 7^a (bis), 7^b, 8^b, 19^a; ܠܚܝܬܐ of the inscriptions, capital of the Himyaritic kings.

ܠܚܝܬܐ ṬRWYba? (or ṬRWYba?, Zār wība?), fem., 4^a, 16^a, 17^a—18^b, 21^a; cf. above, under the name ܠܚܝܬܐ.

ܠܚܝܬܐ YHWbah, fem., 30^b.

ܠܚܝܬܐ YHyah, fem., 30^b.

ܠܚܝܬܐ Jonan, 14^b; Abyssinian deacon.

ܠܚܝܬܐ see ܠܚܝܬܐ.

ܠܚܝܬܐ Yazīd, 25^a (twice); common in the inscriptions, cf. CIS IV, ii, p. 287 (note on Gl. 618, 10—11).

ܠܚܝܬܐ Kabsha, fem., 30^b; as to ܠܚܝܬܐ see CIS, loc. laud., cf. Ar. كبشة.

ܠܚܝܬܐ Kahf (or Kāhif or Kahaf), 25^b; cf. ܠܚܝܬܐ as a personal name in a Thamudene graffito in Jaussen et Savignac II, p. 636 (No. 736).

ܠܚܝܬܐ Kuraib, 24^b; cf. ܠܚܝܬܐ and numerous Himyarites with the name ܠܚܝܬܐ in Ṭabarī and other authors.

ܠܚܝܬܐ Abyssinia, 6^a, 6^b.

ܠܚܝܬܐ KYTWL', 25^a; cf. ܠܚܝܬܐ (n. pr.) Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* II, p. 103 (after Derenbourg).

ܠܚܝܬܐ Kāleb, 6^a... 50^a—51^a, 52^a; cf. above, p. xlii.

- 𐩧𐩣𐩣 *Kalil*(?, Kulail?), 25^a, 25^b; cf. 𐩧𐩣𐩣𐩣 CIS IV, i, pp. 16f.,
 Ar. عبد كلال, common in the tradition on South Arabia.
 𐩧𐩣 KF, 24^b; possibly miswriting for 𐩧𐩣 q. v.
 𐩧𐩣 Karib, 25^b; 𐩧𐩣𐩣, Ar. كرب, Nashwān, *Angaben*, p. 90, and cf.
 above, 𐩧𐩣𐩣.
 𐩧𐩣 LYL, 25^b; perhaps a short form, or a clerical error, for the
 next name, or for 𐩧𐩣.
 𐩧𐩣 LYLWB, 24^b; cf. preceding name.
 𐩧𐩣 Mauhaba 7^a; cf. 𐩧𐩣𐩣𐩣 Gl. 1606, 25, Glaser, *Nachrichten*,
 p. 167; here a person from Hīrtha.
 𐩧𐩣 Māwiya, fem., 30^b (twice); Ar. ماوية. In the inscription of
 Hiṣn Ghurāb occurs Mawiyat as a place-name.
 𐩧𐩣 Moses, 14^b, 15^a, (19^b?); priest from Hīrtha dh^e Na'mān.
 𐩧𐩣 Māzin, 25^a; 𐩧𐩣𐩣 Gl. 618, 23, cf. CIS IV, ii, p. 288, 𐩧𐩣𐩣
 Dussaud et Macler, p. 563, Littmann, *Inscriptions*, p. 124,
 and Ar. مازن.
 𐩧𐩣 MHWYN, 25^a.
 𐩧𐩣 MH . . a, fem. 5^a; cf. note on p. 5^a, 16.
 𐩧𐩣 Maḥmida(?), Moḥammada(?), fem., 30^b; cf. 𐩧𐩣𐩣𐩣 and
 𐩧𐩣𐩣 CIS IV 353,1. 420,1 and notes; see 𐩧𐩣 above.
 𐩧𐩣 Mayyah, fem., 30^b; cf. Ar. مية.
 . . . 𐩧𐩣 MKR . . ., 25^b; see next name.
 𐩧𐩣 MKRDY, 25^a.
 𐩧𐩣 Malik (Mulaik?), 24^b, 25^b; cf. Ar. مَلِك and next name.
 𐩧𐩣 Malik, 25^a (three times); cf. 𐩧𐩣 CIS IV 3,2 and 434,16
 and notes; see above, p. lxxx.
 𐩧𐩣 Mundhar, 5^a; see *Zeitschrift f. Semitistik*, vol. I, p. 197, vol. II, p. 96.
 𐩧𐩣 Masrūq, 4^a (three times) . . . 46^a; cf. Ar. مسروق and
 above, pp. xlii f., lxxii, note 4.
 𐩧𐩣 Ma'dikarim, 43^b; 𐩧𐩣𐩣 of the inscriptions, cf. above,
 p. lxxiv.
 𐩧𐩣 Mu'āwiya, 24^b (twice), 25^a (three times), 25^b (twice);
 Ar. معاوية.
 𐩧𐩣 Ma'na, fem., 30^b; cf. Ar. معن and معان (masc.) and Nabae-
 taean 𐩧𐩣 Jaussen et Savignac I, p. 226 (No. 96).
 𐩧𐩣 Marib, (Mar'ib?) town, 5^b; in the inscriptions 𐩧𐩣𐩣; on the

spelling cf. J. H. Mordtmann in *ZDMG*, vol. 30, p. 323:
 "ein bis jetzt noch nicht aufgefundenes מראב".

מריא Māriya, fem., 30^b; cf. מריא Hal. 190, Minaean מריאת Müller, *Epigr. Denkm.* XIII, 4, and מראת Jaussen et Savignac II, p. 290, No. 26, Ar. مارية.

מרת Marthad, 25^b; the most common name מרת.

נאנא Najrān, town, 4^a and *passim*.

נאנא Nauf, 25^a; נאנא of the inscriptions, cf. Ar. نواف.

נמלה Namlah, fem., 30^b; cf. Ar. نملة and نميلة (masc.).

נמירה Namirah (? or Nammārah?), 25^a; cf. מירה CIS IV, i, pp. 169, 225, and *ZDMG*, vol. 54, p. 645 f., Lihyanic נמרה Jaussen et Savignac II, p. 500 (No. 261), as well as Ar. نمارة and نمرة; see also נמירה below.

נמאן Nu'mān, 24^b (twice), 25^a (seven times), 25^b; cf. the place-name מנאן (see CIS IV, i, p. 57, note on Gl. 302, 4, and Glaser, *Studien* I, p. 30), also with מ or מנאן as a name of a family or a tribe; as a man's name it is common in the Safaitic inscriptions, see Dussaud et Macler; cf. *ZDMG*, vol. 54, p. 247, and above, p. lxxxii; see as to the Arabic form *Zeitschrift f. Semitistik*, vol. I, p. 197, vol. II, p. 96.

נמרה N'Mrah 25^a; cf. נמרה.

נאר Sār (? or Sā'ir?), 24^b; cf. מנאן (a family or tribe) and see CIS IV, i, p. 289 (note on Drake 4, 1), or Safaitic נאר Littmann, *Inscriptions*, p. 128; cf. Ar. سارة.

סלפוס Stephanos (Son of Mattai), 3^a, 61^a; the scribe of the MS.

סלמה SLWma, fem., 30^b; cf. the following names.

א) Salima, 24^b; cf. מלמת, Safaitic סלמה and Dussaud et Macler, p. 599, and Ar. سلمة (or سلامة), and see under סלמה.

ב) Salmā, fem., 30^b; cf. מלמת (fem.), Jaussen et Savignac II, p. 286, (Minaean No. 24) and note; Ar. سلمى.

סמורה Samurah, 24^b; cf. Ar. سمرة, as to the form see Ibn Duraid, p. 50, 11 seq.

סאד Sa'd, 24^b; סאד of the inscriptions; cf. below, under סאד, and see above, p. lxxxiii.

סרגיוס Sergios, 14^b (Greek presbyter), 24^b (the same?).

סרהב SRHB, 25^a; fem., 30^b; cf. (?) סרה.

حَامِر 'Āmir, 25^a; cf. عامر, common in South Arabia (see Nashwān, *Angaben*); as to the Arabic spelling see above, p. lxxx.

حَبْ 'Abd, 24^b, 25^a, 25^b; Sab. 𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣 (as a personal name).

حَبْ ٱلله, حَبْ ٱلله, حَبْ ٱلله 'Abdallāh, a) informant of the author, 23^a–24^b (eight times); b) ten martyrs, 24^b–25^a; as to this name see above, p. lxxvf.

حَبْ ٱلله 'Abd YWFR, 24^b; with ٱلله one feels tempted to compare Sab. 𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣 (Juhafri'), name of a person and of a tribe (cf. Hartmann, *Arab. Frage*, p. 273); after حَبْ, however, one must expect the name of a god. Cf. also Ar. يعفر and see under ٱلله.

حَا 'Auda (?), 'Ūda?, 'Udda?, fem. 30^b; form and root ambiguous. Cf. 𐩧𐩢𐩨 in the inscription Euting 55,1 (Jaussen et Savignac II, p. 286), or Safaitic, Minaean and Thamudene 𐩧 (Dussaud et Macler, p. 487, No. 14, and Jaussen et Savignac II, p. 677), or Safaitic 𐩧 (Dussaud et Macler) and Ar. عود or عود. There is in the inscription Gl. 618,37 a name 𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣 (cf. CIS IV, ii, p. 288, and Glaser, *Dammbruch*, p. 94), but the final 𐩧 prevents its being compared here; see, however, Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* I, p. 218.

حَا 'WZfa ('Uzāfa?), fem., 30^b.

حَا 'Auf, 24^b, 25^a, 25^b; cf. Ar. عوف.

حَا 'Auša (Auḍa), fem., 30^b; cf. حَا and (?) Safaitic 𐩧𐩢𐩨 (Dussaud et Macler, p. 577), and Ar. عوض as a name of a god, Robertson Smith, *Kinship & Marriage*, pp. 59 ff., J. Wellhausen, *Reste ar. Heidentums*, p. 66; a modern عَوْض see C. Landberg, *Arabica* V (Leyden 1898), p. 41.

حَا 'Alā (?), 25^a; cf. next name.

حَا 'Alā'u (?), 25^b; see preceding name and cf. Ar. العلاء (in al-Hamdānī, p. 10r, 3, a man from Ḥaḍramaut).

حَا 'Amma (?), fem., a) martyr, daughter of Ruhm, 30^b, 38^a, 44^a; b) another Christian woman, 5^b, 49^b; cf. the name of the Qatabanian god 𐩧𐩢𐩨, frequently used in composite personal names (see, for instance, Dietlef Nielsen, *Der dreieinige Gott*, pp. 132, 147), Safaitic 𐩧𐩢𐩨 (Dussaud et Macler), and see next name.

- חמא 'Ammāi(?), fem., 4^b, (22^a); cf. preceding name and Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* III, pp. 208 (l. 4) and 211.
- חמר 'Amr (? or 'Āmir or 'Ammār), a) 5^b, 24^b (three times), 25^a (five times), 25^b, 49^b (cf. חמר Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* I, p. 222, and see above, p. lxxx), [b] fem.?, see p. lxxxii and חמר] 30^b.
- חמר 'Afr, 24^b; the root meets in the name חמר (Gl. 554,1, cf. CIS IV, ii, p. 269) and عفير (of the family Dhū-Yazan in Ibn Duraid, p. ٣١, 19ff.); cf. also Ar. عفار, عفر, and see above, under חמר.
- חרא 'Ša ('Uṣṣa?), fem., 30^b (twice); perhaps variant for חרא q. v.
- חרי 'ŠRY ('DRY?), 25^b.
- חרי (or חרי) 'QD (or 'QR), 25^a; see note on the passage.
- חרי 'Arbai ('Arabī?), 4^b, 24^b; cf. חרי (CIS IV, 572, l. 1 and note), Liḥyanic חרי Jaussen et Savignac II, p. 512 (No. 302), and Ar. عرابية.
- חרי 'RHB, 25^b.
- חרי Paulos, 22^a; bishop.
- חרי Fāṭima, fem., 30^b; cf. Liḥyanic חרי (masc.) Müller, *Epigr. Denkm.*, p. 86 (No. 69) and p. 82 (No. 52 =), Jaussen et Savignac II, p. 419 (No. 70).
- חרי Fa'mān(?), 24^b; cf. (?) חרי Hal. 489 and others, see J. H. Mordtmann, *Beiträge*, p. 50, and Hartmann, *Arab. Frage*, p. 250, Minaean חרי Jaussen et Savignac II, p. 286 (No. 24) and *passim* (also without חרי), and (?) Safaitic חרי Littmann, *Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 128, and Ar. فعمة.
- חרי Dabb, 5^b, 24^b (twice), 25^b, 49^b; cf. Safaitic חרי Dussaud et Macler, Littmann, *Inscriptions*, pp. 108, 127f., and Ar. ضب; see next name.
- חרי Dabbah, fem., 30^b; Ar. ضبة, see preceding name.
- חרי Qais, 25^a, 25^b.
- חרי Qa'bān, 24^b; cf. קעבן in a Thamudene graffito Jaussen et Savignac I, p. 285 (No. 114).
- חרי Qaryatēn, the village where the MS. was written, see above, p. xxi.
- חרי Rabi'a, 25^a.

- 𐩦𐩣𐩪 RDH, fem., 30^b; see above, under 𐩦𐩣𐩪.
- 𐩦𐩣𐩪 fem., 5^a, 25^a, the first time (in a rubric) for the younger, the second time for the elder martyr of Chapter XXII, in both cases a miswriting for 𐩦𐩣𐩪 q. v.
- 𐩦𐩣𐩪 fem., 4^b, 36^b, the elder martyr of Chapter XXII; miswriting (in two rubrics) for next name.
- 𐩦𐩣𐩪 *Ruhm*, fem., a) 𐩦𐩣𐩪 𐩬𐩣𐩪, the elder martyr of Chapter XXII (cf. 𐩦𐩣𐩪 and 𐩦𐩣𐩪), (26^a) 26^b, 30^b, 36^b, 37^a, 38^a, 38^b, 39^a, 39^b, 41^a, 41^b, 42^a, 43^b, 44^a (several times in most of the columns);
 b) 𐩦𐩣𐩪 𐩬𐩣𐩪, the younger martyr of Chapter XXII (cf. 𐩦𐩣𐩪 and 𐩦𐩣𐩪), 38^a, 41^b, 44^a (twice);
 c) two other martyrs, 30^b.
- Cf. Ar. رُهم as the name of a woman; as to its etymology see Ibn Duraid, p. ١٣٤, 18. Its diminutive is رُهِيمَة, cf. Loth in ZDMG, vol. 35, p. 620, and Nöldeke in Gött. Gel. Anz. 1882: 1, p. 212.
- 𐩦𐩣𐩪 fem., 36^b; miswriting (in a rubric) for 𐩦𐩣𐩪 q. v.
- 𐩦𐩣𐩪 *Shalim* (Shulaim?), 24^b; cf. 𐩦𐩣𐩪 Hal. 581 (cf. Mordtmann und Müller, *Sab. Denkm.*, p. 54, Müller, *Epigr. Denkm.* LXXI), Ar. سُكِّيم Mordtmann, *Beiträge*, p. 62, and see above, pp. lxxxii ff.
- 𐩦𐩣𐩪 *Shalima* (Shulaima?), 25^a; cf. preceding name.
- 𐩦𐩣𐩪 *Shalimah*, 25^b (twice); cf. 𐩦𐩣𐩪 and see above, p. lxxxiii.
- 𐩦𐩣𐩪 *Shilshila* [fem.?, see p. lxxxii and 𐩦𐩣𐩪 𐩦𐩣𐩪], 30^b; cf. Ar. سلسلة and سلسل (fem., *Aghānī Indices*) and see above, pp. lxxxii ff.
- 𐩦𐩣𐩪 *Sha'd*, 25^b; cf. 𐩦𐩣𐩪 and see above, pp. lxxxiii.
- 𐩦𐩣𐩪 THNah or THHNah (Tahnah?), fem., 4^b (twice), 21^a.
- 𐩦𐩣𐩪 *Thummaliki*(?), fem., 5^b, 30^b (two times, cf. 𐩦𐩣𐩪); I see in this name a compound formed of *Thūn*, the well-known name of a deity, and *maliki*, meaning "*Thūn* is my king." *Thūn* is very common in compounds such as 𐩬𐩣𐩪𐩦𐩣𐩪 "*Amath-thūn*" (for *Amat-thūn*) and similar names; see, for instance, Weber, *Studien* III, p. 19, note 1; a specimen of this type (though not recognized by the editors) is obviously also 𐩬𐩣𐩪𐩦𐩣𐩪 Jaussen et Savignac II, p. 319 (No. 60). In our case the *Nūn* of the name is assimilated to the following *Mim*, and *Thūn-maliki* thus has become *Thummaliki*.

1. *Taim*, 25^a; 𐤔𐤓𐤕, as name of a god very common in compounds, occurs as a man's name (𐤔𐤔𐤓𐤕) e. g. in Gl. 105 (*CIS* IV, 126, p. 191), very commonly in Safaitic inscriptions (𐤔𐤓, Dussaud et Macler), and in Arabic (تيم); see next name.
2. *Taimai(?)*, 25^b; cf. preceding name and Palmyrene תימי, Littmann, *Inscriptions*, pp. 58 f., θαίμη, J. B. Chabot, *Index . . . des Inscriptions . . . publiées par Waddington*, Paris 1897.
3. *Tamim*, 24^b, 25^b; cf. Ar. تميم.
4. *TMNya*, fem., 30^b (twice); miswriting for 𐤔𐤓𐤕 q. v.
5. *TMNya*, fem., 30^b; there is a place-name 𐤔𐤔𐤓, see *CIS* IV, 375 and note (p. 27).
6. *Tha'laba*, 24^b, 25^b; the well-known name ثعلبة.

TRANSLATION

(Preface)

. rewards everyone according to his works; He who in the p. 3a
ocean of His grace may grant peace to His church in every land, and
draw near in His mercy those of her members who are far away, and
gather in His pity her dispersed (children), and turn again in His
grace her shepherds, and gather within her in His bounty her spiritual
sheep, and have pity on all who have become and are believers, and
also, in the bottomless ocean of His mercy, on the humble one who
has composed this book recording the inspiring martyrdom of those
victorious servants of God. And may He forgive him who has written
it and him who has read it and is reading it, those as well as their
departed, and grant to them, and to their spiritual brethren and their
brethren in the flesh, in that hour of judgement, remission by the Lord
and forgiveness of sins and inheritance of the new life *in secula secu-*
lorum, by the prayers of those victorious ones, and of all who have
been, or are, well pleasing to His Divinity in Heaven and on earth,
for ever and ever, Amen and Amen. And on Stephanos, alas, for
him! be mercy, [Amen] Amen and Amen. May the Lord forgive his
departed ones, Amen, and all departed, Amen.

[Index of accounts] p. 3b

- [I. Account] telling briefly [of the Jews and of] the badness
of their faith
- [II. Account] telling of the Himyarites, who they are
and whence they first re[ceived] Judaism.
- III. Account telling how Chris[tianity] began to be sown in
the land of the [Himyarites].
- IV. Account telling how Bishop Thomas went to the Abyssinians
and informed them that the Himyarites were persecuting the Christians.
- V. Account telling of the first coming of HYWN' and the
Abyssinians.
- VI. Account telling of the amazing sign which the Lord showed
the Himyarites in the ranks of the Abyssinians.

- VII. Account telling of the first departure of the Abyssinians from the land of the Himyarites.
- p. 4 a VIII. Account telling of the beginning of the persecution by [Masrūq, the crucifier, and of the burning of the church in the town of Zafār, and of the massacre] of the Abyssinians in it.
- IX. Account telling [of the co]ming of Masrūq[, the crucifier,] to the town of Najrān [and of the attack] against it.
- X. [Accoun]t telling of [the siege] of the town of Najrān.
- [XI.] The martyrdom of the believing . . . h, who was the first to suffer in Najrān at this time, when he was coming on the road.
- [XII.] Account telling how the pure brethren of the holy order went out [to] Masrūq.
- XIII. [Accou]nt telling of the [bu]rning of the church and of the brethren of the holy order of the town of Najrān, and of the others who were burnt there.
- p. 4 b XIV. The martyrdom of coronation by fire of the pure and blessed ZRWYba.
- XV. Account of the martyrdom of coronation by fire [of the freeborn Tahnah and of Aumah,] her handmaid.
- XVI. The martyrdom of the freeborn Ḥadyah, daughter of the martyr Tahnah, who also suffered martyrdom by fire in her house.
- XVII. The martyrdom of Elishba', the deaconess, and of 'Ammal, sister of the holy order.
- XVIII. The martyrdom of coronation in the Lord of the freeborn men of Najrān.
- XIX. The martyrdom of the freeborn Ḥārith and 'Arbai, who were crowned in the Lord.
- XX. Account of the confession first, and further of the martyrdom of coronation in the Lord of the freeborn women of the town of Najrān, and of their young children together with [them.]
- XXI. Account telling of the confession first, and further of the martyrdom in the Lord of the freeborn Ḥabṣa and Ḥayya, and another Ḥayya.
- XXII. Account of the martyrdom in the Lord of the freeborn

Ruhm, daughter of Azma', and of Aumah, her daughter, p. 5^a
and of Ruhm, her granddaughter.

- XXIII. Other martyrdom of many freeborn women from the town of Najrān.
- XXIV. The martyrdom of believing men from the town of Najrān, who won the crown by being killed for the sake of Christ, their Lord, but the names of whom we have not been able to learn.
- XXV. Account telling of the contents of the letter that Masrūq wrote to Mundhar bar Zaqīqa, the king of Ḥirṭha dhe Na'mān, against the Christians.
- XX[VI.] The martyrdom of the blessed MḤ(S?)a, the handmaid of God, who was also from the town of Najrān. And she amongst the people on the occasion when the of the freeborn man and Martyr Ḥārith took place.
- XXVII. Account telling [of the depar]ture of Masrūq, when [he went forth from] the town [of Najrān.]
- XXVIII. [Account telling of the coro]nation of
(probably three lines missing)
- [XXIX.] The martyrdom of His holy martyrs who suffered in the p 5^b
town of Ḥaḍramaut.
- XXX. Account telling of the burning of the holy church, and of the martyrdom of those who suffered in the town of Ḥaḍramaut.
- XXXI. The martyrdom of the holy martyrs who suffered in the town of Mārib of the land of the Himyarites.
- XXXII. The martyrdom of the holy martyrs who suffered in the town of [Ha]jarēn.
- XXXIII. The martyrdom of 'D'a, sister of the holy order, and Thummalikī, the lay woman, who suffered in the town of Najrān after the departure of Masrūq.
- XXXIV. The martyrdom of Dhība and of Ḥayya, who suffered in the town of Najrān.
- XXXV. Narrative telling of Hint and 'Amma from Najrān, who were seized to suffer martyrdom.
- XXXVI. Account telling of Ḍabb and of 'Amr, the Najrānites, who were also apprehended to suffer martyrdom, and were kept in custody till the Abyssinians came and liberated them also.

[XXXVII. Account of]
 (probably two lines missing)

- p. 6^a [XXXVIII.] . . . how God speedily revenged the blood of His servants,
 which had been shed by the Jewish crucifiers, through the
 arrival of the Abyssinians in the land of the Himyarites.
- XXXIX. Account telling how the freeborn Umayyah came to Abyssinia out of zeal for God, and informed the holy Bishop Euprepios and Kaleb, the believing King of Abyssinia, of all that Masrūq, the crucifier, had done to the Christians.
- XL. The petition that was brought by the believing Himyarite Umayyah to the holy Bishop Euprepios and to Kaleb, the King of the Abyssinians, as from the church in the land of Himyar.
- XLI. Account telling of the arrival of the King Kaleb with his army in the land of the Himyarites to make war.
- XLII. The address that the commander-in-chief Z'WNS made to his army, when he arrived by sea in the land of the Himyarites.
- XLIII. The exhortation to gratitude unto God that the Christ-loving King Kaleb addressed to his army in the land of the Himyarites, after the victory.
- p. 6^b XLIV. Account telling of the confessors who were released from Najrān, and of the sign of the cross that the Himyarites showed on their hands.
- XLV. The petition that was brought to the believing King Kaleb by people from among the Christians who had de[nied] but repented, and turned and came to do penance.
- XLVI. The address of rebuke that the believing Kaleb made to those Christians after they had denied, but repented and turned.
- XLVII. Account telling that the King of Abyssinia by his own power appointed a king in the land of the Himyarites.
- XLVIII. The second address that the believing King Kaleb made to those who turned [after] having denied.
- XLIX. Conclusion of this book after the return of the believing Kaleb, King of the Abyssinians, from the land of the Himyarites
 (great lacuna embracing one or more quires)

(Chapter VII)

And when he saw that he could not prevail over them in battle, p. 7a
he sent to them Jewish priests, who were from Tiberias, with a man
from [the town] another, whose name was, [son
of] Mauhaba, who was from Hirtha dh^e Na'mān, and these were
Christians in name. And this tyrant Masrūq sent with them a letter
with terrible oaths, swearing by Adonai, and by the Ark, and by the
Thora: "No harm shall befall you if ye will come out to me willingly
and [surren]der the town of Zafār, but I will send you back to your
country to your king in peace."

VIII. Account telling of the first persecution by Masrūq, the
crucifier, and of the burning of the church in the town of Zafār,
and the massacre of all who were in it.

When the Abyssinians received from him a letter of this nature
through those who were sent, and moreover the words of his mes-
sengers supported his oaths, they, in the simplicity of their souls, did
rely upon his oaths and went out to him, 'B'BWT, their leader p. 7b
with three hundred [fighting men,] who were with him. And Masrūq
received them [without reserve] and showed [them]

(one line missing)

[their leader 'B' . . .] saying that everyone of [the Jews]
should slay the Abyssinians [in that night], and in the morning [their
bodies should be fo]und in one place. [And] those [servants] of un-
righteousness did as [he had commanded them], and at the dawn the
bodies of the servants [of God were fo]und [there] cast upon each
other. [And then he sent] men to the t[own] of Zafār [and they set
on fire] the church [in] which the Abyssinians [were], and two hundred
[and eighty men], who were left by the Abyssinians, [were burnt] in
the church. [And he also sent] messengers with the priests, and with
them [letters] to the provinces [of the Himyarites,] by which he gave
command that [all] Christians [should be killed] unless they [would
deny Christ] and be [Jews]

(one line missing)

[that everyone who was f]ound concealing a Christian, his house should p. 8a
be [set on fire] and all his property [destroyed]. And immediately
was drawn out [the sword in the whole people] of the Himyarites . . .

(two lines missing)

[shedd]er of blood [had killed] by the sword and [had burnt] that

church. Then he grew enraged [and became li]ke a wild beast [in his fury and] used all his cunning that was in him to try to [exterminate the Chri]stians, who were in the [whole] land [of the Himyar]ites. And first [he wrote a letter] and sent to a man of [the freeborn who] lived in the town of Najrān, Hārith [by name,] and he was [a Christian], saying to him as follows: "[When thou recei]vest [this] our letter [be careful to levy] speedily [all] the Christian [fighting]men [of] the town of Najrān, [not leaving a] single one of them, and send [them] to me, [for w]ar is nigh to breaking out against us now have risen up unclean"

- p. 8^b Masrūq, his master, he made every effort and assembled all the Christian fighting men who were in the town of Najrān, and spoke with them just as [the wicked Masrūq had instructed him] by his order. And those believers went on the road in the innocence of their hearts, since, on account of the great distance of their town, they had not yet heard of what that king of unrighteousness had done, letters announcing the wickedness having not yet reached their town, and they being not aware of the treachery that was planned against them by the wicked Masrūq. But when in their journey they were not far from the place where the shedder of blood Masrūq stayed, and when they heard from persons and received information of the treachery of that foe of righteousness against them, and that he had sent for them to destroy them, and learned also what he had done with those Abyssinians who were in the town of Zafār and in the church there, namely that he had slain and destroyed them, they immediately turned away from that place

(three leaves missing)

- p. 9^a to the town of Najrān, those crucifiers asked him:

(one line missing)

And they said to him: "Art thou a Christian?" He answered them: "If I am worthy I am Christian." These unclean ones said to him: "If thou art a Christian stretch thy hand up." And he immediately stretched up his right hand, and a man swiftly drew his sword, smote him, and cut it off. Again he said to him: "If thou art a Christian stretch up the other." And immediately with joy he stretched up the left one also, and then that crucifier smote and cut off that as well. Again they asked him and said to him: "Art thou still a Christian?" And he said to them: "In life and in death I am a Christian, and

praise be to God, our Lord Jesus Christ, who has deemed me worthy of this." When they heard this, those foes of righteousness became angry and smote his feet also from behind and cut them both off from p. 9b

(two lines missing)

IX. Account tell[ling of the coming] of Masrūq to the town of Najrān.

Now when the foes [of God] who besieged the [town] saw that [many di]ed every day in warfare and that they were [not] able to sei[ze it], then [they wrote] to their wicked king: "[If] thou [comest not] we are not able to [fight] with Najrān because as [often as we attack] it we are defeated. For [they will be intimidated] by thee and not at all [set themselves against] thee." [When] the unclean [Masrū]q received this letter [he became agitated] and much disturbed and [anxious] in his mind, and in [great] rage ordered that [all the chiefs] of [his] army should come together, and that not a single one of all [the chiefs should dare not to come] to him of the great town hundred and anything p. 10a

(three lines missing)

how that they have been that they should destroy that court and he asked the chiefs of his army of them that he might conquer Najrān. And in this way, in the an[xiety] of his bitterness, he also ventured to [fight] with them but he [was sha]mefully conquered more than his [generals] before him. So he coiled as [a serpent] in meditating [how to conquer] the believing town. [And also] this Masrūq [the shedder of innocent blood] planned by himself and took of his mind how by treacherous stratagems, as he was accustomed, [to creep in] amidst the Najrānites and overcome them. And he wrote [a letter to the N]ajrā[nites] and sent it by [a messenger] swearing by the great p. 10b
Merciful God (Raḥmānā) and by the Law of Moses: "If ye are going out to me from the town

(one line missing)

with you a lawsuit regarding that because of which ye have rebelled against me. And if ye have been found guilty according to the sentence of judges who rightly administer justice between us, then I will fine you. But if ye will not obey me and come out to me and submit

to me as your king, then I will not remove from this town until I have broken down its wall and scattered it to all the winds, and buried its citizens in it, making it a ruin over them." When now the believing Najrānites had received this letter they thought to themselves and said to each other: "What is now to be done, brethren, for this is for us a great and serious distress on every side. For if we now obey this unclean one and go out to him, perhaps he will destroy us. And if we do not go out to him, the town will perish for want of
 p. 11^a food. But even this wicked man cannot seize it by force, as long as the people

(one line missing)

our lives to the Lord. But we will let this unclean one see that we have obeyed his oath and have gone out. And if he, as he has sworn, will go to law with us, then, if we are condemned to pay him gold, it is better for us that we lose our property than that our town should be destroyed". Since this opinion prevailed amongst the Najrānites, there went out from them to that shedder of innocent blood, Masrūq, about one hundred and fifty notables. And he received them without reserve, showing the first day no perfidy. But he spoke with them in the same way as he had written to them, saying: "Why have ye rebelled against me? Ye must know, that I am your king and that ye are not able to perform that which ye had in view. But because I have given you my oath I will not break it and truth against you in my heart. We will appoint to us

(two columns missing)

p. 12^b and he began to speak with them with much boasting, and imperiously....

(one line missing)

ye r[ebelled] against me. And when I bade you that ye should come to me, why did ye turn away from the road and dishonour me and not come to me, and what did ye rely upon, when ye [ventured] to close your town to my command and to the chiefs of my army, that I sent to you? Did ye not know that ye are my servants and that no one can save you from my hands? And now, although ye have deserved death, I will not slay you, unless I shall again find that ye have dealt treacherously with me. But immediately each of you shall send and bring to me all his silver and gold, while the rest of your property shall remain yours. But take heed that ye do not try to deceive me by subtracting from your silver and gold and not bringing it to me, else are ye dead men." And these freeborn men said to

him: "We had given thee our silver and gold even without this shame,
if the first day [thou hadst asked for it]
(three leaves missing)

(Chapter XIII)

were shameless enough to carry out his order. And again he ordered p. 13^a
and they brought before him speedily all
(one line missing)

they brought to him a cross and threw it on the ground before him.
And this incarnate Satan, Masrūq, answered and said to the blessed
ones: "May it be enough for you that ye have cried out that ye
would rebel against me, but have failed. And consider at least now
your reputation and listen to my words and deny Jesus Christ, the
son of Mary, because he was of mankind and a mortal as all men;
and spit upon this cross and be Jews with us, and ye shall live. But
if ye will not obey my words, by Adonai, God, I will let you suffer
torment by fire and your lives shall be consumed by it, because ye
worship a mortal man, who, being of mankind, yet said about him-
self, that he was the son of God, the Merciful (Raḥmānā). And in
this very time his false doctrine has been manifest, and all lands
understand that he was a man and not God. And especially the land
of the Romans, who first erred concerning him, they now better than
any

(two columns missing)

who will make him endure evil for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ, p. 14^b
our God, He who became man for us [by His manifestation in the
flesh] and in His grace

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and rose as God, and, by His passion and death, saved us from the
second death that is reserved for you, that ye may die for ever by it,
together with Satan, your father. So, then, now thou hast seen our
belief, do all that thou wishest, and do not delay us from our way to
our Lord."

But because this foe of truth, Masrūq, had learned secretly, that
subjects of foreign countries were amongst the blessed ones, he sat
and inquired about each of them, and asked what was his name, and
who he was, and whence was the origin of his family. So he learned
of the presbyters Moses and Eliya, that they were from Hirtha dh^e
Na'mān, of the presbyter Sergios and the deacon Ḥananya, that they

were Romans, of the presbyter Abraham, that he was a Persian, and of the deacon Jonan, that he was an Abyssinian. And he said to the servants of God: "Verily it is not enough for you, that ye are going astray

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p. 15^a and by Him thou hast sworn to us and said: "If ye will not deny Christ and say that he is not God but a man, by fire

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and I will not deny but confess Him, that He is God, Son of God indeed. But if thou fearest my family, that they will exact vengeance for me, if I am put to death, do not think of it, separating me from my brethren. For if thou doest that, thy treachery will be manifest to all people". But when this shedder of innocent blood, Masrūq, heard that from the presbyter Moses, he waxed exceeding wroth and gave command, and immediately they brought him before him, and he said to him; "Now, O deceiver, thou hast imagined, that I hesitated in putting thee to death. And because I would have mercy upon thee to let thee live, thou hast imagined that I, as in consideration to thy family, would not slay thee together with thy fellows. On this account thou hast been arrogant and contemned us. But thou shalt learn that I not will be false on thy behalf, and straightway thy life shall flee from thy body in the vehement flame, as also the lives of thy bold fellows, and if a death more dreadful than¹)

XIV. [The martyrd]om [of coronation in the Lord by bur]ning
[in fire of the pure blessed ZR]WYba.

p. 16^b of truth; such was her manner of life. As now this excellent ZRWYba entirely Masrūq said about that holy church that burnt, and about the holy bones of the martyrs of God, those whom these unclean men had brought up from different places and out before the murderer Masrūq, and that over them were burnt and crowned even all the brethren of the holy order, together with the women who, of their own accord, had followed them, her mind became filled with zeal for the Lord, and she grew exceeding sad. So she was no longer able to hold out in her seclusion, but at once she went out and came to the church, weeping and crying out in her prayer: "O Lord, God

¹ Of the next two columns (15^b and 16^a) only the heading of chapter XIV can be reconstructed.

of my fathers, separate me not from Thy servants, which have suffered martyrdom on behalf of Thy holy name, but let even me, a sinner, join them in martyrdom for Thy sake." And when she arrived at the holy church she fell on her face to the earth outside the fire and p. 17^a prayed amid tears and said: "I bow myself in reverence before you, my lords and fathers, I bow myself in reverence before you, elected of God, and I beg you to make petition for me, that I may not be separated from you, but that I may speedily come and reach you by martyrdom for the sake of our Lord, and come, even I, miserable one, with you to Him." Some of the Jews, who saw her, ran hastily in their hatred and informed the impious Masrūq about her. And when this murderer heard it he commanded, and they speedily brought her before him. When she now stood before him he said to her: "Who art thou that, weeping as if insane, thou runnest in the town to stir up tumult? And what is that language I hear that thou art proffering on account of those who willingly have been burnt because of their insolence, as they also deserved?" The blessed ZRWYba answered and said: "In the pain of my heart in order that I should go

(one line missing)

I to them." But Masrūq, the crucifier, [said to her]: "Thus thou p. 17^b weepest

(one line missing)

Because [this deceiver was] a man [and not God], and be alive and do not [die as a lunatic"]. But the blessed one [said to him: "God forbid], and this will not be, [either with me or with anyone] of the Christians, [that we should deny our Lord] and our God and our Creator, [Jesus Christ], or that we should spit upon [His worshipped Cross], by which He has saved us [from all error] and delivered us from [eternal] death. But I abjure [thee, Jew, crucifier], and all who agree [with thee and deny] Him". Then this serpent, [Masrūq], said to her: "., thou insolent, who of thy own accord" The blessed one sai[d: "I praise my Lord] and my God, Jes[us Christ, and as to] thy demand [that I should deny Him], . . . what

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and thou shalt burn O, miserable". [The blessed ZR]WYba p. 18^a said: "So now not this voice

(two lines missing)

the blessed a more bitter death than must not that

thou wast seeking because its pain is bitter, not that I not should make thy will [in the f]ire, that thou lovest, thy life will be consumed [speedily] away from [this world,] thou insolent, evil one". [And he ordered her speed]ily to be brought and [thrown, like the] others on the bur[n]ing church], and there they should burn her [above the bones] of those who were burnt [there. And immediately they hu]rried with [the blessed one to the] burning fire her mouth for her, but praised

p. 18^b and said: ". me, my Lord, on Thee. Praise be to Thee, my Lord, who hast not separated me from my lords, my fathers, who have suffered for Thy name." When she arrived at the holy church, the servants of unrighteousness speedily threw on wood and made a flame above the fire that was above the bones of the blessed ones. But the blessed one kneeled down and worshipped, and stood up and sealed herself with the sign of the Cross and said: "Our Lord, turn not away from Thy servants who confess Thee, but humiliate Thy crucifiers and grant peace to Thy church and confirm this town in the true faith. And receive my spirit by Thy mercy as a sacrifice acceptable before Thee." When this excellent woman had spoken so far, swiftly the servants of unrighteousness seized her by her hands and her feet and hurled and threw her into the flame of the fire and so this glorious ZRWYba was crowned by a good confession of Christ, God. But when [this blessed ZRWYba] had given up her life the servants of unrighteousness [went away] from there.

(four leaves missing)

(Chapter XVI)

p. 19^a [abjure you] and your king and all who agree with you, ye, Jews, who crucify your Lord". But when those impious ones heard this, they were thrown into a violent rage and brought wood and increased that fire, and immediately they threw the blessed Hadyah into the flame. And so her soul departed from her body and the glorious Hadyah was crowned by a good confession before her Lord. Besides this blessed Hadyah, then, who suffered martyrdom by fire in her house, and besides those Abyssinians, who burned in the church that was in the town of Zafār, all those about whom we have subsequently written above were burnt in the burning of the holy church in the town of Najrān. And these also were burnt within two days, namely on the Tuesday and on the Wednesday, on the date that we

have written above, above the holy bones of the martyrs of God whom they assembled and brought into the church and

(two columns missing)

they found nothing. But again when they looked from afar they saw p. 20^b
that light as they had done before. And again they have told us
attesting the statement by their oaths, that at every time of service,
by night or by day, when those holy ones were accustomed to per-
form their service when they were in the life of the body, at that
time they heard the rumble of the sounding-board as before and it
was perceived also in all the town. And after the rumble of the
sounding-board had been heard they heard also the voice of the
service loudly ringing and then another voice crying out and saying:
“Let us kneel down and pray” and again afterwards another voice
saying: “Let us stand up in the power of God.” And again they
told us this also, that on the spot within the church where these
glorious martyrs were crowned their odour spread abroad, surpassing
the finest perfumes. And from that blessing of water and oil which p. 21^a
sprang up, the believers took that issued on the place of
coronation of the holy martyrs of God. But when those servants of
sin, after having burnt the blessed Ḥadyah, went out from the town,
they learned from Jews, their fellows, about two sisters of the holy
order who were hidden in the town for fear of the Jews. And when
they went out to the wicked Masrūq, they told him of all that they
had done and seen, how the blessed ZRWYba with great joy took
upon herself that she should be burnt in fire, and of the youth
Abraham, brother of the holy order, with what fortitude crying “I
am a Christian and for the sake of Christ I will die,” he threw him-
self willingly on the flames, and again of the three blessed ones,
Tahnah and Aumah and Ḥadyah, how they with a wilfulness not
concealed from anyone, crying “Christians we are and abjure p. 21^b

(one line missing)

the crucifiers. . . . And then she gave up [her soul]. But when the blood-
shedder [Masrūq] lea[rned] this [from the servants] of unrighteousness,
he wondered [greatly and said] to the Jews and heathens who were
ar[ound him]: “I wonder] at a people like this [seeing] how they take
upon [themselves tortures] with joy because of [this] error. But I will
[bring it about if] possible that no [one may remain] but they all [must
deny Christ]. When [now those] servants of perdition saw that
of Masrūq all that that he had said about they rose

early in the morning and [went] to the town and sec[luding] the
bles[sed women] them and

- p. 22^a XVII. [The martyrdom of Elish]ba', the deaconess, [and of
'Ammal, the sister of the holy or]der.

.
(two lines missing)

and by means of torments for years [mar-
tyr]dom for the sake of Christ gloriously. And another
who performed the duties of deaconess . . . whose name was Elishba' . . .
these blessed women . . . who dwelled together they had
in the house they were. The [holy] bones of the bishop
Paulos [he who wa]s and by the purity of [the Holy] Ghost
[and by a con]duct of the highest virtue . . . always the first ones . . .
this crucifier Masrūq were the holy bones of [those servants]
of God who were and some of were them
(the women)

- p. 22^b And they shut them up in the house and gagged them and con-
strained them by great oaths not to make themselves known

(one line missing)

against the people of the Christians. But when these wicked men had
sought them eagerly and (finally) got hold of them, they seized these
lambs of Christ like rapacious wolves and brought them out before
the son of perdition Masrūq. And when they stood before him, he
began to speak to them in the bitterness of his soul: "Lo, ye have
heard, and mayhap ye have also seen, all that has befallen those who
have not denied Christ and confessed with us that he was a mortal
man like every one, that, lo, their lives were consumed and passed
away by fire, as they merited. So I am convinced that ye, knowing in
this way what has been, have no need that I say many words to you
but will now confess, as we do, that Christ was not God

(Great lacuna, probably ten leaves missing)

(Chapter XIX)

- p. 23^a that thou hast deemed me worthy to-day to suffer martyrdom for Thy
sake. Grant peace, o Lord, to Thy church in every land and seal its
children with Thy victorious Cross. And bring low the horn of Judaism,
that crucified Thee, and reward Masrūq, the crucifier, for all that he has
done to Thy temples and Thy servants. And pardon me all that I have
sinned against Thee and receive in peace my spirit as well as theirs."

When he had said this he sealed himself and bending down and worshipping towards the east he said: "Peace be with you, my beloved brethren, and blessed be our Lord, who will crown you

(four lines missing)

[the murderer] struck him with his sword and cut off his head. And in this way he was crowned by a good confession for the sake of Christ and joined with his brethren in the spirit and in the flesh on this day, Sunday, the 25th of Teshrin II.

But on the next day, that was Monday, the believing 'Abdallāh, son of Afū, one of those of whom we have written above that they p. 23^b told us of the confession of these glorious ones—he was present at all the deeds, at all that took place in Najrān and with every one of its people who suffered martyrdom, because that Afū, his father, was one of the leading notables and because that he was at that time a heathen—but afterwards, by the help of our Lord, who deemed him worthy, we baptized him into the church of the true believers that is in Hirtha dh^c Na'mān with great pomp, when we still were there,—this honourable old man and leading notable, who had been also an ambassador between the kings Afū

(three lines missing)

that impious Masrūq a man from his—this young man then, 'Abdallāh, being a believer, said to some of the notables among his relations that they should ask Masrūq to give order that the bodies of these freeborn men that had been slain should be collected and buried. But those notables dared not say anything on this subject because they feared Masrūq. Then this young man 'Abdallāh in the fervour of zeal of his p. 24^a faith encouraged himself and approached the crucifier Masrūq and asked him that he might go and collect and bury them. And immediately our Lord gave His command in the soul of the wicked one and, without doing any harm to him, or even being angry with the young 'Abdallāh, he said to him: "For the sake of Afū, thy Father, go, make a grave and bury them." So 'Abdallāh went out from him with great joy after having received this command. But when he was gone a little distance from him, this Masrūq again called him and said to him: "Because

(two lines missing)

go and bury them." And this young man 'Abdallāh prepared forty men from his family and from his friends and took them with him by night and they went and he digged graves and collected all the bodies of the

servants of God, the glorious martyrs, and buried them. And this 'Abdallāh placed on each of their burial places a sign in order that it might be recognized afterwards. And when this 'Abdallāh and those
 p. 24^b who were with him told us about the blessed ones, they also wrote for us the few names which they did remember of the glorious, namely as follows:

Names of the glorious freeborn men who suffered martyrdom
 at Najrān.

Hārith, Humāma and 'Amr, Tamīm and Add and Jabr and Hārith, his brother, Tha'laba, their nephew and Ghanam and 'Abdallāh and Dabb, he who was for a time a judge and a persecutor but afterwards became a true Christian and was deemed worthy even to the stage of martyrdom for the sake of our Lord, and 'Amr and Jabr and Bar Dabb and ZWRBN and 'Abdallāh and Malik and S

(four lines missing)

and Abū 'Afr and Bar Hūzaīqa and Nu'mān and Sa'd and Hārith and 'Auf and Sergios and Mu'āwiya and 'YZD and Baddā and 'BYSh and Busr and 'Abd YWFR and 'BYSh and Mu'āwiya and Qa'bān and Dhuhl, his son, and Dhīb and Haufā'amm and Shalim and Dhuhl, his son, and 'Abdallāh and Salima and Asad, the son of his sister, and LYLWB and Fa'mān and 'Amr and Dhuhl, his brother, and 'Arbai and Sār and 'Abdallāh and Samurah and Kuraib and 'Abd and Nu'mān and KF
 p. 25^a and KYTWL', his brother, and Asfar and 'Auf and Humāma, his brother, and 'Abdallāh and Habīra, his son, and Malik and 'Abd and Jadan and N'Mrah and Azmam and HB and Ashab and Māzin, his brother, and Nu'mān and Yazīd and Nu'mān and Jarīr and 'Abdallāh and 'Abdallāh and Malik and Nu'mān and 'Amr, brethren, and Hārith and Taim and 'Amr, brethren, and Nauf and Ghanam and Azfar, his sons, and Nu'mān, son of Ruhm, daughter of Azma', and Azraq and Abraq and Shalima and Qais, his brother, and Hārith and Nu'mān, brethren, and 'Amr and Habīb and 'Āmir, his brother, and Duwaid and Kalil and Hārith and 'QD and Hārith, brethren, and Nu'mān and 'Abdallāh and his little baby-brother, whom he carried on his shoulder and who was killed, and Nu'mān and Aswar, his son, he to whom the king said: "Deny and I will make thee my son," but he would not and was killed in a good confession, and Aswar and 'Amr and Busr, his son, and 'Abdallāh and Aḥmam and 'DKY' and MḤWYN and Abraham and Hāni and MKRDY and Mu'āwiya and Dhuhl and Busr,

his son, and 'Abdallāh and Mu'āwiya, his son, and Wā'il and Mu'āwiya and Dhuhl and Baddā and 'Amr, his brother, and Haufa'amm and Namirah and Aus and Malik and Rabi'a and 'Alā . . . r and SRHB and Jarir and Yazid and Kalil and 'Amr and 'Alā'u and Kāhf and ZFRY p. 25^b and Nu'mān and 'Auf and Hārith and Hāni and HYRM and Aswar and Azraq and Taimai and Qais and Huldai and 'L . . ā and 'Abd and Duwaid and Jarir and M . . . and LYL and Tamim and Shalimah and Mu'āwiyah and . . . YN and Busr and 'SRY and Dhuwāb and Mu'āwiyah and Wā'il and Tha'laba and Karib and MKR[DY] and Marthad and Dabb and DY' and Dhuhl and Sha'd and 'RHB and Malik and Jabr and Shalimah and Hāritha and Hannah and Hittān.

These are the names that they could remember of those freeborn men who were crowned, about whom those who buried them told us.

And again, when this murderous dragon Masrūq saw that he had shed his gall and destroyed, as was his wish, the nobles of Najrān and had done all that he had desired, he even so was still raging and increased on every occasion his impiety against the servants of God, the Christians there, without pity. For, when these freeborn men were killed, of whose names we have noted above a few, in as much as the believing men who have told us this record did remember them, he, on this same day, Monday, called in one of his generals, whose name was Dhū-Yazan, who had been this, with his brethren, Masrūq had sent p. 26^a before, at first, against Najrān to go and make war against it and conquer it before that impious Masrūq went against it himself. To this Dhū-Yazan then the crucifier Masrūq sent and said to him: "Go and enter Najrān and bring together the wives of those rebels who were killed on Friday and bid them deny Jesus, son of Mary, whom the Christians call Christ. And those who deny shall be Jews with us and be alive, but those who do not deny shall die as bitterly as their husbands.

XX. Account that tells of the confession first and further of the martyrdom of coronation in the Lord of the freeborn women of the town of Najrān and of their young children with them.

When this wicked Dhū-Yazan had entered the town of Najrān, he gave orders to them who were with him and they brought together to him the believing freeborn women of Najrān whom they found, one hundred and seventy seven in number. And they brought with them

- p. 26^b also many children whom they carried. And there was amongst them also [Ruhm], daughter of Azma', an important woman, more wealthy than all the women there. Now when Dhū-Yazan saw Ruhm, he sent the vicious Masrūq word concerning her saying: "Lo, I have brought together all the freeborn Christian women of Najrān I have found, and with them is also Ruhm, daughter of Azma'. So let me know what is thy will as to them and I will do it." But this crucifier sent to him: "Dismiss immediately Ruhm, daughter of Azma', that she may go to her house until I reflect quietly what to do with her. But, as to the other women, ask them as their husbands were asked. And those who deny Jesus Christ must be Jews and live, but for those who do not deny must be devised the same fate as for their husbands. But separate those who do not deny from those who deny and give me notice of them." When this wicked Dhū-Yazan received this command, he immediately dismissed Ruhm

(one line missing)

- p. 27^a The other women he commanded to be imprisoned in the house of one of the notables, who had suffered martyrdom. And this wicked Dhū-Yazan went to them and stood and spoke with them and said to them: "Now, indeed, what have your husbands benefited, who insisted in this rebellious opinion and did not obey the king and do his will and live? And, lo, because they did not obey, they have died by the sword, not in war, but as evildoers. Do not, therefore, even ye also imitate their folly, lest ye perish suddenly, ye also, as they have perished, but care as wise women for your lives and choose life for yourselves and reject that death which your husbands did choose for themselves in their madness. So deny then Jesus, son of Mary, whom ye say is Christ. For he is a mortal man as everyone, and will not benefit you in anything, just as he did not benefit your husbands. And spit on his cross and become Jews with us and live and do not die, so may ye go in peace to your houses and there will not fail amongst the freeborn men who will be husbands to you

(one or more lines missing)

- p. 27^b immediately and they said to him everyone: "God forbid that we should deny our Lord and our God, Jesus Christ. For He is God and the Maker of all things, and He has saved us from eternal death. And God forbid that we should spit on His Cross or that we should treat it with contempt, for by it He has prepared for us redemption from all error. But we abjure thy king and thyself and all who agree with you, ye

Jews, crucifiers of your Lord. And we pray that, as our husbands died, we may be deemed worthy to die, we also, for the sake of Christ, God."

When this crucifier Dhū-Yazan saw that they all contended against him and cried thus, he found a defence such as this not sufficient, but as a rapacious hawk, afflicted with hunger, sits at the opening of the nest of harmless pigeons to try to destroy those which are coming out, so he sat at the door outside the house, threw a cross before him, and gave command that those freeborn women should go out one by one in order and approach him. His order was carried out. And when each one of them

(one or more lines missing)

again indefatigably he required them to deny. But these believing women p. 28 a not only did not deny, but, by the help of Christ, God, who was with them, each one of them despised him, bravely giving him answer for the sake of truth, and confessed, that Christ is God, and abjured him and his king and all who agreed with them. When this unclean Dhū-Yazan saw that he could not at all, not even in a single one of them, find the weakness of denial, and not only that, but also that they abjured his king and himself and all who agreed with them, he immediately sent word to the impious Masrūq, his king, and said: "Among the women that we have brought together, I have not found even a single one that denies Christ, but they insist shamelessly, even more than their husbands, in their rebellious opinion, saying that Christ is God, Creator, Son of the Merciful (Raḥmānā), and they abjure thee and all who agree with thee. But all that thou shalt determine concerning them, let me know, that I may carry it out."

And this crucifier Masrūq sent to him: "As they, though they are women, persist in such a rebellious opinion as their husbands did, they too must come here before me to die a cruel death even as their p. 28 b husbands."

Immediately this wicked Dhū-Yazan ordered that they should go out, as his impious king had bidden, and he let men keep guard around them lest one of them should be left behind the others. When they, after their going out, had arrived at the place where the freeborn men had been brought together and while they spoke about their deeds there, suddenly there arrived and reached them mounted men sent from Masrūq, by whom he sent commandment to Dhū-Yazan: "As not a single one of them has weakened to deny and save her life, so kill them

on the spot by a painful death more cruel than that of their husbands, that the rest of the inhabitants of Najrān also may see it and be frightened. When this murderer Dhū-Yazan received this command, he placed around them a troop of men of the Jewish crucifiers, that not one of them should escape, and bade that even the gates of the town should be shut before them, because this place was nigh to the gates

p. 29^a of the town. Thereafter he commanded those Jews who were with him that they should first pierce them with arrows. And immediately they began, these shameless men, to shoot at them and their children as a man shoots and the arrow strikes and [splits] without pity. When now the arrows were flying continuously in a dense shower from every side and were piercing them, just as a cloud that pours down hail over a vineyard, these handmaids of Christ lifted up their hands towards heaven saying: "Christ, God, come to our help. O, our Lord, Jesus Christ, behold our oppression in this moment and turn not away from us, but grant in us the power to accomplish this our way by martyrdom for Thy sake, that we also may go and reach our brethren who died for Thy sake. And forgive us our sins and accept the sacrifice of our lives as acceptable before Thee." But those women who had with them little children, set them down on the earth and covered them with their garments and stood themselves, spreading out their hands to heaven, till suddenly [one] of them was overpowered by the violence of the

p. 29^b heavy pains of the numerous wounds of arrows and fell to the ground as a tree, the roots of which are cut off with axes at the foot, falls to, the ground.

As now the bitterness of this impious Dhū-Yazan was not satisfied, even when he saw that there was not one of these handmaids of Christ who stood on her feet but they were all thrown to the ground, wounded by the arrows without pity, and though he further saw the blood of them, and of their little children too, flowing before them, and heard the sound of their wailing and of their childrens', which was heard at a great distance, he afterwards commanded those shameless ones who were with him, saying: "Lest some of them may be alive, if they are not slain with swords, and may escape, go ye immediately out and make away with them and with their evil children by swords, that they may not live, neither the ones nor the others." Then these murderers who were with him immediately, as it was commanded them, began to slay them with swords without mercy like reapers who cut down the ears without sparing. When they had now killed these women by the pains of a

cruel death and saw that not a single one of them nor a single child remained alive, they rejoiced and exulted like reapers when they finish their field. p. 30 a

Now this wicked Dhū-Yazan gave command to open the gates of the town, and the men that were with him brought together boys and men, all they found, and caused them to come before Dhū-Yazan. And this crucifier commanded that they should drag all these bodies and take them out of the town lest they should stink. So they dragged them according to his command and took them out and threw them into a moat outside the wall of the town. And again this wicked one gave command that they should make a grave and bury all these bodies under the earth.

So then these handmaids of God were crowned by a good confession through these pitiless sufferings which they endured for the sake of Christ, their Lord, because of their great love to Him, on this same day, Monday, the twenty sixth of Teshrin II. And they lay to rest in peace from the anxiety of this world of woes, these glorious women. And those men who told us of their wondrous martyrdom mentioned also to us a few of their names out of many. And also [they wrote p. 30 b these for us, as many] as they remembered.

Names of the holy women who suffered martyrdom in the town of Najrān.

Humāma and Ruhm and Arqas and Thummal(i)ki and Ruhm and her three daughters and Ama and Jabraḥ and Aumah and her daughter, and Ruhm and Ushana, her sister, and their mother, and Ḥayya and Aumah and her four sisters, and Ḥubba and 'Uzāfa and Aqṭam and Waddah and her daughter, and SRHB and Aqṭam and Salmā and 'Yla and her three daughters, and SLWma and 'Auṣa and Ma'na and TMNya and Ṭaibah and Ḥamdah and 'Auda and Ummu Busr and Ṭaibah and YHWbah and Ḥabibah and 'Auṣa and Durrah and 'Ammā and HBB and Hint and Ḥubbah and Thummal(i)ki and Ama and Māriya and Asmā' and Ummu 'Amr and Asmā' and Māwiya and Jadida and Māwiya and Ḥasana and Hint and Ḥasana and Khalila and Alhān and Ummu Bayya and Asmā' and Kabsha, HLH and Jaushanah and HWLH and Ḥayya and Hint and 'Auṣa and Durrah and Namlah and Maḥmida and Mayyah and Ḥamdah and Ḍabbah, YHyah and Ummu Busr and Ummu Jabala and Umayya and Aumah and Ḥabiba and Jadida and Ama and Fāṭima and Ummu Shalshala and Hint.

These few from the names of the victorious women knew those who wrote for us their story.

- p. 31a XXI. Account that tells first of the confession and further afterwards also of the martyrdom in the Lord of the freeborn women Ḥabṣa and Ḥayya and another Ḥayya.

There was in Najrān amongst the other believing freeborn women, those who were not yet seized by the Jews that they should deny, one freeborn woman also, the name of whom was Ḥabṣa, of the family of Ḥayyān, son of Ḥayyān, the teacher, him by the care of whom it is written above in the beginning of this book that Christianity was sown in the town of Najrān and in the land of the Himyarites. When then this excellent woman heard about all the harm that was done to the freeborn women by the Jewish crucifiers on account of their belief in Christ, our Hope, she grieved exceedingly that she was not amongst them, and so she wept and said: "Our Lord, Jesus Christ, regard not my sins and exclude me not from the rank of martyrdom for Thy sake, but deem me worthy, O my Lord, me also, to be added to the number of those who have loved Thee and have been put to death for the sake of Thy worshipped name." And on the day that followed that on

p. 31b which the [other] freeborn women [of Najrān] had been crowned, which was Monday, this believing Ḥabṣa rose and took that little cross of brass she had, sewed it on to her headcloth over its edge, went out into the street and cried, saying openly: "I am a Christian and I worship Christ." Then there went out to her two other women, freeborn, friends of hers, the names of whom were as follows: the one Ḥayya, and she was an old woman, and the name of the other was Ḥayya too, and she was a girl. And many of the Najrānites also, men and women, came together around them. And this Ḥabṣa looked and beheld among them a man, her neighbour, who was a Jew. So she called him and said to him: "O thou, Jew and crucifier, I abjure you and all who agree with you, since you deny Christ, saying that He is not God, and abjured be thy king, that crucifier of his Lord. Go and tell him: "Lo, Ḥabṣa, daughter of Ḥayyān, is crying out in the street that she is a Christian and abjures thee and all that agree with thee". That Jew said to her: "They will not allow me to approach him". But Ḥabṣa answered: "Go

p. 32a and say to him what I have said to thee, and if thou wilt not go, thou mayst know that I will say before him that I have bidden thee to tell him but thou hast not done so." This Jew said to her: "I fear to go

to him." Ḥabṣa said to him: "Go then and tell it to one of his magnates, that he may tell him". When Ḥabṣa said this, that Jew went and informed one of the magnates of the impious Masrūq and that magnate informed the crucifier Masrūq concerning Ḥabṣa and concerning them who were with her and concerning what they had said, namely that they confessed that they worshipped Christ, and before everyone abjured all Jews with a loud voice. When now this shedder of innocent blood Masrūq heard that from this magnate, he was violently disturbed and enraged against these freeborn women, and commanded that they should speedily catch them and bring them before him. And it was quickly done as he had ordered.

When they now stood before him he began to speak to them as was his arrogant custom saying: "Which of you is Ḥabṣa?" And the freeborn Ḥabṣa answered him: "I am Ḥabṣa." This impious Masrūq said to her: "And what are the names of these?" Ḥabṣa said to him: p. 32b "the names of these two are Ḥayya and Ḥayya." The impious Masrūq said to her: "Whose daughter art thou?" Ḥabṣa said to him: "I am the daughter of Ḥayyān of the family of Ḥayyān, the teacher, him by whom our Lord sowed Christianity in our land. But Ḥayyān, my father, once burned your synagogues." The crucifier Masrūq said to her: "So then thou holdest the same opinion as thy father. And I think from thy words that thou too art ready to burn our synagogue just as thy father burned it." Ḥabṣa said to him: "Nay, I will not set it on fire in my own person because I am ready speedily to go and join my brethren in Christ by this way of martyrdom. But we trust in the justice of Jesus Christ, our Lord and our God, that he will speedily remove and destroy thy power from among mankind, and break down thy pride and thy life, and extirpate your synagogues from our land, and built in it holy churches, and Christianity will increase or rule in it p. 33a by the grace of our Lord, and by the prayers of our fathers and brethren, who died for the sake of Christ, our Lord. And thou and the sons of thy people shall be a prodigy and a byword for ages to come, because of all that thou as a man without God and without mercy hast done to the holy churches and to the worshippers of Christ, God." But the accursed serpent Masrūq breathed out the rage of his heart, as it were, just as a serpent that seeks to suck the blood of a pigeon, and was troubled and oppressed because of all that he heard from Ḥabṣa, and planned how to find out a way of death that would suffice to torment this believing woman that had said to him such words as these. And

he gave orders and they threw before him a cross, and brought and placed near him a bowl in which was blood, just as he had done to those who had suffered martyrdom before her. Then he said to her: "Lo, now thou hast spoken abundantly all that thou desiredst in thine effrontery and thou hast let me hear things that not even the men before thee have said to me. And I highly wonder how thou treatest me
 p. 33^b with contempt, as thou thinkest, and sayest this in thy boldness. But since thou art a woman I must first ask thee to turn back from thine error, but afterwards, if thou hearest me not, I will let thee perish bitterly as thou hast deserved. But deny Christ immediately, and spit on this cross, and take with thy finger from this blood, and say as we that Christ was a mortal as everyone else, and be thou a Jew as we are and thou shalt live and I will give thee to a freeborn man and forgive thee all that thou hast spoken."

Ḥabša said to him: "Thy mouth, that has blasphemed thy Maker, shall speedily be shut up from this temporal life, and there will be left after thee no offspring to revile its Creator, O, thou crucifier, who hast hung on the cross thy Lord, thou who hast undertaken to destroy, as thou thinkest, all the race of the Christians that is in our land. But thou shalt know that not only will I not say that Christ was a man, but I worship Him and praise Him because of all the benefits He has shown
 p. 34^a me. And I believe that He is God, Maker of all creatures, and I take refuge in His Cross. Now as thou knowest that I do not shrink from a single one of thy tortures, do thou invent all the sufferings thou wishest and bring them upon me."

The crucifier Masrūq said to her: "Now I understand that what I did desire, that thou shouldst be exempted from a painful death, has not succeeded, and so thy blood be upon thy head. Therefore I shall speedily so deal with thee that thou wilt regret in thy mind that thou hast not listened to my words." And this Masrūq said to the freeborn women that were with her: "And ye, what think ye about yourselves; will ye listen to my words, will ye deny Christ or do ye hold by the insanity of this woman and wish to come to a bitter end with her?" Ḥayya and Ḥayya said to him: "All that has been said to thee by our sister Ḥabša is said to thee on behalf of us all. And even if our mouth has not pronounced it our mind agrees with it. God forbid then that we should separate from each other. No, we are ready to endure for the sake of the truth that is in us all sufferings. Bring therefore quickly upon us all the tortures thou wilt, for we

confess that Christ is God. But thee and all who agree with thee we abjure."

When the impious Masrūq heard this from Ḥayya and Ḥayya he became more and more agitated and gave command in his wickedness p. 34b that they should speedily bind their shin-bones to their thighs and tie them as camels and beat them with rods and strike them with their fists. The blessed ones prayed and said: "Our Lord, we praise Thee, who hast deemed us worthy the martyrdom for the sake of Thy name. Grant peace, O Lord, to Thy church and preserve its children from denial of Thee. And receive us in peace and forgive us all our sins against Thee."

When now his command was executed there was a loud sound of their bones which were made to creak and of their joints which were broken loose the one from the other. They also removed the cross that was on the head of Ḥabṣa and threw it away. And this evil doer said: "Because thou hast thought that this cross would help thee in that place where thou hadst sewn it, I will now order thee and thy fellows to be tormented, and thou shalt understand that it has not only not availed thee, but has become the cause of ruin for thee and also for those that have gone mad together with thee." So he gave command and they were struck in the face without mercy. While this was done the handmaids of God were in great suffering, so that they were not even able to speak. Moreover this murderer Masrūq gave command that they should be flogged on their backs like men, without pity. And it was done as he ordered and these crucifiers that executed the sentence p. 35a on them said to them jestingly: "Will ye now obey all that the king says to you or are ye pleased with this death?" But because these believing ones were not able to speak, they made signs with their hands meaning: "Yes, we wish to die." Then, in this immense suffering, the blessed Ḥayya, the elder, yielded up her spirit to the Lord and was crowned by a good confession for His sake. And when those crucifiers saw that she was dead, they cried aloud and laughed in their madness and said: "Excellently has Christ availed this woman that worshipped him, for he has not saved her from this suffering but, lo, she has died like an animal. And they removed the body of the blessed Ḥayya and brought it out and threw it outside the encampment. But in the night some of the Christians, those who were there in fear, not confessing themselves to be Christians, went and digged a grave and buried the good and blessed Ḥayya. But the handmaids of God, Ḥabṣa and the

p. 35^b other Ḥayya, were thrown into great suffering, not being able to speak because of the blows with which they were struck without mercy, and because of their torments. And this crucifier Masrūq commanded that they should bring wild camels and bind each of them to one (of the camels) and so send them forth into the desert. His command was quickly carried out and so these handmaids of God, being dragged away by those wild camels, yielded up their spirits to their Lord and were crowned by this glorious confession that they confessed for his sake.

But Af'ū, one of the freeborn men of whom we have written above that they wrote to us this witness, the same who was also the brother-in-law of the blessed Ḥabša, the husband of her sister, whom we have also seen and spoken with—he has told us that Af'ū and two other men with him went out on the tracks of those camels on the way where the blessed ones had been dragged. And when he had gone about twelve miles, they found the body of the excellent blessed Ḥayya, for the bonds that were fastned on the camel had broken and she was left there
p. 36^a though the camel went on. And this Af'ū cut off and took in faith as a blessing the hair of the blessed Ḥayya and they digged a grave and buried her body on the spot. Then they went on and took the track of the other camel and continued and went by it about fifteen miles and found also the body of the woman fulfilled with victories, the handmaid of God, Ḥabša, and the camel lying down. When Af'ū saw her, he noislessly ran on and with his sword cut off those ropes and the camel rose and went away, but the pure body of the handmaid of God remained. So he and those with him took the blessed Ḥabša and buried her besides the blessed Ḥayya. And Af'ū cut off and took in faith as a blessing the hair of the victorious Ḥabša also, and Af'ū and those with him buried together the two victorious ones and erected a sign on their graves, and returned for fear of the Jews because they were still ruling in the land.

This Af'ū gave to us a blessing from the hair of them both, but when we asked him to give to us also from their bones he said to us: "We have not yet for fear of the Jews brought thereof to
p. 36^b our town and we did not even take anything from their bones because the Jews immediately put to death everyone of the believers who was found wearing anything from the bones of the victorious martyrs."

So came to rest by the heroic martyrdom for the sake of their

Lord those victorious women on Tuesday of the month of Teshrin II. And they were a noble example for those who came after them.

XXII. Account telling of the martyrdom of coronation in the Lord of the freeborn Ruhm, daughter of Azma', and Aumah, her daughter, and Ruhm, her granddaughter.

After the murderer Masrūq had had the handmaids of God, Ḥabṣa, Ḥayya, and Ḥayya, tormented to death by strucks and blows and draggings, he was still eager for blood and sent men of his to Ruhm, the daughter of Azma', the rich woman from Najrān, of whom we have written above and who belonged to the family that was named Jaw, and she was akin to the blessed Ḥārith, the venerable old man and head of those who were crowned, he of whom it has been written before in this book that he, shortly before, had suffered martyrdom for the sake of Christ. And he commanded those men that they should say to her: "Deny Christ p. 37a and be a Jew, and save thy life, and remain in thy former honour, and I will give thee to a great and noble man amongst my notables." When now these men came and said to her as they were ordered, Ruhm said to them: "Now since ye have said to me all that ye would, listen to me, that I also may speak. As to your saying to me that I should deny Christ, God forbid! that shall never be, nor will I for my part deny Him nor any other of them who love Him and worship Him with an upright heart. For He is God, Son of God, Creator of the worlds. And as to your saying to me that I should become a Jew, abjured be your king, the crucifier of his Lord, and ye and all Jews, your fellows, the crucifiers, and all who agree with you or fear you and deny Christ as ye do. And as to your saying to me that I may live after having denied Christ, my God, God forbid that I should desire to live longer in this world and abstain from the company of the Martyrs of God, whom ye have murdered, and who, behold, in the fervour of their love for their Lord have gone straight to the kingdom of heaven. And as to your saying to me that I may remain in my former honour—that would be for me a dishonour

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For the true honour that brings no dishonour with it, is for me that I, p. 37b having confessed Christ with heart and mouth that He is God and Creator of all, may die for the sake of His holy name. And as to your saying to me that your wicked king will give me to a great man of his notables, God forbid, after this, that I should cleave unto a mortal

man and forsake Christ, the heavenly bridegroom, to whom are in holiness betrothed all the souls of His worshippers. And ye know, yourselves too, that there is no man amongst his notables who is worthy in his greatness to take me for his wife, not even this impious one, your king, is worthy to be my husband. But because that Christ, my Lord, has mercy upon me and has invited me to a new life, behold, I will go with you and speak before him all that it behoves me. And he may bring upon me all the torments he wishes, and I will with great joy take upon myself to endure them for the sake of the name of our Lord, Jesus Christ, my Lord and my God."

p. 38^a When the handmaid of God, Ruhm, had spoken thus far, she sealed herself with the sign of the victorious Cross and she sealed also her daughter, whose name was Aumah, and her granddaughter, who was a girl of about nine years. But the mother of this little girl, whose name was 'Amma, daughter of the freeborn Ruhm, had been killed three days before together with the freeborn women who had suffered for the sake of Christ, God. After that this Ruhm, her grandmother, took care of the girl and she did not separate from her. And this excellent Ruhm sealed with the sign of the victorious Cross her house and all that was there and said: "Our Lord Jesus Christ, God of all, save us and the dwellers in this house and all who fear Thy name in every place from denying Thee. And deem also me, a sinner, and these Thy handmaids worthy to tread according to Thy will this way of martyrdom, of which Thou hast deemed us worthy in Thy mercy. May we quickly reach Thy beloved ones, who have been killed for Thy name."

p. 38^b Then this handmaid of God Ruhm took with her Aumah, her daughter, and Ruhm, her granddaughter. And when they went out into the street there also gathered to them, because of the weeping of her handmaids and servants who followed them, many women of Najrān who wept, they also, and related crying the many charitable deeds that this freeborn Ruhm had done for them. And this excellent woman stood in the street and said to the women of Najrān: "Weep not for us, whom, behold, our Lord has deemed worthy to die for His name, as those who have gone before us have died for His sake and have found mercy before Him. But weep for all who have denied or deny Christ, God, and for all who do not confess that He is God in truth and the Son of God. And if ye say now that I have done good to you and to others, I know that even if God has given me greatness in this world and lavished on me much gold and silver and valuables and servants

and handmaids and great honour, on me as well as on my husband, all the good I have done of that which I have done, I have done not in my own strength, but in His. But praise ye God, and pray for us, and stand by your truth, all ye who worship Christ, and do ye continue to worship Him and depart not from Him by denying Him, and pray for us that we may go and reach our brethren, who, behold, are gone before us to the new life a little as in a temporary p. 39a habitation deserted by its dwellers, and all good to those who love Him. For to us no property shall belong after this but only Christ, our Hope, and He who raises us from the dead. But in peace shall rest the people of the Lord, all those who worship Him and continue till the end in His truth."

When she had said this, the handmaid of God, Ruhm, seized by the hand her daughter and her granddaughter and they went out. And the women of Najrān wept after them and wailed until the cry reached even the murderer Masrūq, at the place where he was. So he immediately sent men to know what the tumult was. When he heard, he became furious against those who led the freeborn Ruhm and those with her. And when they came out, those who led her and her daughters, and stood before him, he would even have put them to death because they had allowed Ruhm to speak in the street and to cause such a tumult. But certain men stood up and prevailed upon him to desist from killing them.

When now the shedder of innocent blood, the wicked Masrūq, saw p. 39b the handmaids of God, Ruhm and her daughters, who with defiance in their uncovered faces with joy stood before him, he was extremely amazed and said to Ruhm: "Verily thou art altogether mad who hitherto hast let thyself be seen only by few men and, when thou hast been summoned to appear before me, now, behold, thou standest without shame as a harlot. Or perchance thou desirest to show us that with thy great riches thou art also very beautiful. Now, care rightly for thy life as a wise woman and return to thy magnificence as it was before, and keep not that foolish belief as thy husband did and those others before thee. For then thou shalt perish, both thou and thy daughters, even as they did. But deny Christ and say that he was a mortal man, as everyone else, and spit on this cross and turn back to thy house in honour and in peace."

But the handmaid of God, Ruhm, said to him: "As to thy insulting of me as though I were mad because I stand before thee frankly with

open face, and as to thy saying to me that in order to show thee my greatness and beauty :

(one line missing)

- p. 40^a and also as to thy saying that I have let only few men see me—all this thou sayest but in the perfidy and iniquity that fills thy heart. Hear now then from me, who am a woman, concerning what thou hast said to me: Thou knowest that all those who love wine drink and become drunken. But when they are drunken they do not know their former state, and because of this they seem to those who are not drunken as though they were mad. So I am not mad at all, but I am drunken with the love of our Lord Jesus Christ, my Lord and my God. And because of that I care not henceforth for my former state. For it is not so, as thou in thy lasciviousness thinkest, that I desire to show to thee or anyone else my beauty, for henceforth I hate and despise by the aid of Christ, my God, all passions of lusts, and I have no other desire but this, that I may swiftly reach by death my brethren, and go and see Christ, my Lord, He who in this world has given me abundantly, besides the comely beauty of my face, for which thou, as thou thinkest, hast insulted me, also great riches and high honour. And I believe in Him that He will also in the new world deem me worthy of unspeakable wealth nor am I ashamed to be seen of everyone
- p. 40^b how I am in the life of the flesh, for I with the eyes of my spirit give heed only to Christ, my Lord. As to what thou hast said to me, that I should deny Christ, my Lord, and live and not perish as those before me, I pray that my end may be like theirs, and my lot with them. And I abjure thee, O Jew, crucifier of thy Lord, and all Jews, thy fellows, and all who agree with thee and obey your words, or fear and deny Him as ye do. And I believe that because of all that thou hast inflicted upon His servants, suddenly killing them, He will take thy life away from this world by the sword of thy enemies and destroy thy seed, so that nothing will survive of thy cursed stock, and will humiliate and lay low and depose your Judaism. But now, do thou torment us, as thou likest."

The shedder of innocent blood, Masrūq, said to her: "I thought not of thee, that thou wouldest speak this before me, for I hoped that thou wouldest save the state of the freedom of thy magnificence. But, behold, thou hast not saved it but hast spoken as one deserving death; and if a man had spoken such words before me, I had had no more

- p. 41^a patience with him, but because thou art a woman, and because of the

many great benefits done by thee to many, I exhort thee not to perish from thy magnificence, but to deny Christ and live and turn back to thine honour."

The handmaid of God, Ruhm, said to him: "O thou fool, devoid of every sense of honour, who dost not understand what thou speakest, it behoves thee to know that, instead of what thou sayest, that I should deny and live, if I, which may God forbid, should deny, then should I die the eternal death. But if I deny not, then shall I live that life over which death has no power. But thou, because thy soul is lost in error and thou thyself art deprived of God, thou dost not understand this. But I, who understand this, have said to thee and, behold, even now say to thee: abjured be thou and all who agree with thee."

When this handmaid of God, Ruhm, said this, her daughter and granddaughter cried out: "Abjured be thou, O Jew, crucifier, and all who agree with thee." But this murderer looked at them and was in a ferment and saw that he was put to shame by girls such as these. And as he was seeking . . . something, the girl Ruhm, her granddaughter, went up to him, and filled her mouth with spittle and spat at him, and said to him: "This spittle in thy face, O unclean Jew, because thou hast dared to say to my lady that she should deny Christ. She is more honourable than thou and her family than thine, O thou insolent tyrant, rebelling against God and man." p. 41b

When this holy girl said this, the wicked Masrūq, who was without mercy, in order to intimidate the Christians who worshipped Christ, bade that they should throw the excellent Ruhm on her back and slaughter the girl, her granddaughter, and pour of her blood into the throat of her grandmother. When this was done, as he had commanded, and they had raised up the believing Ruhm on her feet, the murderer asked the handmaid of God, Ruhm: "How indeed was the taste of the blood of this insolent one?" The excellent one answered him: "As a sacrifice accepted before God." And Aumah, the daughter of the blessed one, said to him: "Crucifier, murderer of thy Lord, thou shalt be destitute of the mercy of God, just as thou by this thine own choice hast deprived thyself of the mercy of mankind." When the destroying Masrūq heard the words of this woman too, . . . he commanded and said: "Do ye also to this insolent woman as to her fellow." And quickly some of the servants of unrighteousness again threw the blessed Ruhm on her back and others killed her daughter and poured of her blood into the throat of the handmaid of God, Ruhm. And as she stood on her feet this p. 42a

murderer, Masrūq, said again to her: "Has even this second sacrifice pleased thee, as thou saidst?" The excellent Ruhm answered him: "Verily, it has pleased God as it has pleased me. And even if thou hast alienated thyself from the order of mankind and in thy wickedness surpassed them all, Christians, Jews and Heathens, and hast become like no one but the wild beasts that drink the blood of men—as they, so even thou slayest men, the vengeance for which will be preserved for thee in a terrible judgment—yet Christ, my Lord, has done towards me an unspeakable favour, in so far as these innocent pigeons have gone before me, so that thou like Satan, thy father, canst not lure them into apostasy by the bait of thine brood

(one line missing)

p. 42^b my Lord, Christ, who has sent them before me as a sacrifice accepted by Him, and I am going after them, I shall stand before Him in blessedness and confidence." And the believing Ruhm praised God and said: "I praise Thee, my Lord and my God, who hast sustained me with all good things in this world and hast relieved me and made my heart glad, and who, even now, at the end of my life, hast approved and received the pure offerings of my innocent daughters. Have mercy upon me, O my Lord, and forgive me all that I have sinned against Thee in all the days of my life, and impute it not to me as sin that I have lived these few days after my husband. And see to the oppression of Thy servants, and have mercy upon all Thy worshippers in every place and save them from denying Thee, and sustain Thy true religion in this town until the end. And deem me worthy, together with Thy servants who died for Thee, and add me to them, me, a sinner."

And, when she had said this, she sealed herself with the sign of the cross between the eyes and loosened from her head her hair, which p. 43^a was plaited, and held it and said to the devouring bear, Masrūq: "O thou crucifier of thy Lord and slaughterer of the Christians, who confess Christ, behold, I have abjured thee and all who agree with thee, give command then to kill me, that I may speedily reach my beloved ones."

But the impious Masrūq, because of the others who had received benefits from her and who had interceded for her with him, had sought to delay her case, in the hope that she would yield to him. But when he saw her firmness before death and that she ceased not to despise and abjure him, he gave order and said to the servants of unrighteousness that were before him: "Take also this woman, who hates and despises the pleasures of this world and its honour and magnificence because

of the folly that has seized her, and go and cut off her head." So these unclean slaughterers took her away from him. And when they had quickly brought her out a short distance from that enclosure of wooden palings where he was, the blessed one knelt and bowed herself towards the east, and sealed herself and said: "Our Lord

(one or more lines missing)

and immediately that murderer drew nigh and raised her and she p. 43b stretched forward her head with great joy, and the executioner smote her with his sword and cut it off."

So this handmaid of God, Ruhm, was heroically crowned by a good confession for the sake of Christ, God, on Wednesday in that same month, Teshri II.

When now the unclean Masrūq learned that the head of this victorious woman had been cut off, he commanded also the bodies of her daughters to be thrown upon her for a humiliation, and it was quickly done as he had commanded.

But some of the notables before him came forth and said to him: "This great woman Ruhm, daughter of Azma', has done many good deeds to many, to the kings before thee as well as to the nobles and to the poor people inasmuch as she once, when Ma'dikarim, king before thee, was in straits and asked to borrow from her 12,000 dinars, lent to him this sum. And some time afterwards when she heard that he was in want, she offered him as a gift of honour

(one or more lines missing)

and many who received her benefits. We therefore recommend thee to p. 44a order her to be buried."

Then this impious Masrūq ordered her to be buried, and some of the Christians quickly brought linen clothes and enshrouded and buried the handmaids of God opposite that place where the freeborn women before them had been buried, above the moat where they had been interred.

Such was the end of the life of these victorious women, Ruhm, daughter of Azma', and Aumah, her daughter, and Ruhm, daughter of 'Ammah, her other daughter. And they were crowned by a good confession for the sake of Christ, God.

XXIII. Another martyrdom of many freeborn women of the town of Najrān.

Even so, after the coronation of the victorious handmaids of God, Ruhm and Aumah and Ruhm, this foe of truth, Masrūq, seeing that

he was bitterly mocked by many women of Najrān, was moved and provoked in his mind. And he coiled as a drago^sbasilisk to devour the rest of the innocent pigeons [and he made up] in
 p. 44^b his mind, of his own will, not to let henceforth a woman that confessed Christ remain in Najrān, but to kill her. And he ordered again the wicked Dhū-Yazan, the captain of his army, him who had brought together and put to death the freeborn women the first time also, and said to him: "Go and enter even now the town of Najrān and collect and bring hither before me all the women that worship Christ so that not a single one of them hereafter shall remain but all must die." And this Jew and crucifier Dhū-Yazan took some of the men who were with him and entered Najrān, and diligently and carefully sought to gather the women together. For many of the men and women who confessed Christ had concealed themselves in different places. And Dhū-Yazan gathered all the women he found to the number of one hundred and twenty two, many of whom carried young children, and he brought them out before the foe of righteousness, Masrūq. And this enemy of truth in the rage of his mind and in the boast

 (great lacuna, several quires missing)

(Chapter XLII)

p. 45^a of sight and it was in many [places and] above all places on the seas[hore] with the troops was against them he perceived and he [said]: "I see to us their king our enemies changing the clothes
 (seven lines missing)

salvation against those who were fighting [against] His [Cr]oss, through the death of [their king], the crucifier. And it happened, when they were and descended and, behold, those Abyssinians massacred of the [Himyarites] innumerable many, then [was] brought low that rank that was before the crucifier Masrūq, falling
 p. 45^b in the water, till the Abyssinians reached them destroying [that line] in which was the shedder of innocent blood, Masrūq. And then a believing and powerful man he the one eye of whom as . . . those whom he destroyed the Abyssinians of the Himyarites to see where their king was he looked [and because] of
 (seven lines missing)

that was around him, some of the Himyarites turned to escape. And from this, this brave Abyssinian who had killed him understood the more that he was their impious king. And he swiftly drew his sword and caught the body and dragged [it] quickly into the water to [the shore] of the sea in the shallowness of the water; and immediately he p. 46a smote him and cut off the . . . head of the crucifier Masrūq, who, as it were, just as [Goliath] boasted [in contempt] of the ranks of Israel, in the same way boasted [over] the Abyssinians, the servants of the Lord, [despising His Cross], and from (by) . . . succ[eeded in the war] against the Abyssinians. And [they praised] God who gave [them victory] through the death of the wicked they were them

(five lines missing)

[and many] of the Himyarites ran, after they had left the sea[shore], to mount their horses and escape, but they were not allowed by the Abyssinians because these Abyssinians pursued them and destroyed them, just as reapers, as it were, the [full] ears of the field. And the Lord wrought a great and extremely severe slaughter by the hand of the Abyssinians among this people [of the Himyarites] he who p. 46b not and thereafter . . . not those Himyarites they stood [servants] of God, the Abyssinians, who were [found] in that out of the s[ea] in the midst of it out of [the sea] to mount

(six lines missing)

they were erring until were survivors of them those who had not fled, that . . not [their capture], because they captured many of them . . all The service of the . . . ceased not from . . . because the servants of God, the Abyssinians, were . . . before them

(at least one leaf missing)

(Chapter XLIII)

to us predominance and victory over our enemies whilst . . may be p. 46a Ye remember what I said to you: '[No man is] our king, and I am not, save only by [n]ame.' And I know that ye have adopted in your mind [all that ye have heard] from me in our land and that ye believe and rely [upon our words] that they are and have been the truth. And, behold, to-day ye see by His grace that the Lord has carried out by deeds all that I [had said] to you, and even more, and

easily, behold, the Lord has given us as an inheritance [the land of our enemies]

(two lines missing)

a [hen] and our fear . . . is as an animal that has been torn and cast before lions. For all that the Lord will, He doth in heaven and on earth and on the seas and in all depths. And as He would He took away Enoch, because he pleased Him. And as He chose He destroyed the generations of Noah in His righteousness, but He saved him alone
 p. 47^b and his family . . . that he should be another Adam . . . [that there should be] a substitute for the world, that from [him] should be re-established afterwards the generations [of the world. And] as He would He [s]owed [through Abraham] His knowledge in the [land of] erring [peoples]. And as He pleased He . . . the offering of His only-begotten [holy] Son . . . by Isaac towards the altar that [his father had built]. And as He chose . . . He, by Jacob, set up a likeness of the coming down of His Son to His witness

(four lines missing)

with a staff [in his hand; and He sent down to them] manna from heaven and let the quails come up from the sea; and from a little block of dry rock He even made to flow water for [thousands] innumerable; and as He destroyed the nations before Joshua, son of Nun, and caused him to take possession of their land; and as He set the sword of a man
 p. 48^a [against his fellow] in the days of Gideon; and as He killed [Sise]ra, he who was [the servant] of Satan, by the hand of 'Anael [who was a symbol] of the Church; [and as He humiliated] the boast [of the servant] of Satan and put him to death by the hand of . . . ĥima in the shape of his [wife]; and as He cast [the fear] for Elijah, the prophet, upon [four]hundred priests whom he [destroyed though] their [k]ing stood up for their aid; and as he destroyed [in the camp of the Assyrian] one hundred and eighty-five [thousand] by the prayer of Hezekiah; and as he destroyed a million

(four lines missing)

the fellows of Ĥananjah on whose not even the smell of it (viz. of the fire) [had passed]; and as He performed signs from time to time for everyone of the holy fathers, and gave them by His grace the name of victory, which has been applied to them, though He alone was victorious, just as He even now has made me victorious for us, by fighting for us against our enemies, and [has driven them back] before
 p. 48^b us, and appointed for us by [His] pity this [victory] as if, lo, we were

victorious. These then [may be before] our eyes and we are not beaten and [killed]. And now, behold, [our Lord] has shown you all my words in deeds, and He went before [us], and was at our head, and has fought our battles against our [enemies], His crucifiers. And His victory over them He has given to us by His grace. Thus it is the victory of our Lord and not of ourselves, of His Cross and not of our spears of His [Cross] by which we seal

(three lines missing)

in these and keep ye His observances . . . by means of His commandments and He . . . praising Him because of all that He has done for us, and now also. And let no one of you think within himself that . . . has been from us, the victory which He has given us. For He has created us and not [we ourselves] and just as He has created us, so He has given us the victory also. Thus the victory is His and not ours and while it was in truth His, behold, He gave it [to us] in His p. 49 a grace. But we may by our praises and thanksgiving to Him show ourselves to be His people and sheep of [His] flock. We may believe in God and praise Him for all that He has done for us, that we may succeed in all that we do and prosper wheresoever we go, and He may be our help and not abandon us. [For] the Lord [is faithful] in His words and righteous in all His [works]. But let us, my brethren, be firm in our Lord [in] our hearts, in our words and in our works.

XLIV. Account of the confessors who were released from Najrān, [and of] the sign of the cross that the Himyarites showed on their hands.

But after that the believing King Kāleb had spoken, and exhorted his troops with words like these, they remained in that place a certain number of days and afterwards they [began] to roam in the other towns, [namely] the capital, and all the other towns in the provinces of the Himyarites, [wasting] and plundering [in them] as they liked, [and they went] also to the town of Najrān

(one line missing)

after that the wicked Masrūq had left that place . . . whom the notables p. 49 b Harith and 'W . . LN had laid hold of, two men [the name] of one of whom was Ḍabb and [the name] of the other 'Amr, and two [women] the name of one of whom was H[inṭ] and of the other 'Amma. And [they allowed them] to go where they [liked] and they destroyed [these] Jews for whom the land of the [Himyarites] had [trembled] and

shaken, and was cast down to fall [because] they smote it utterly with heavy [blows].

But when [some of] the Himyaritic Christians saw that [all men] of [the Himya]rites were destroyed who were found, and were not [able] to say to the Abyssinians in their language: "We are Christians," those Christians found out [an artifice], and tattooed [on their hands] the sign of the Cross, and [this artifice] they . . . each other. [And these signs] they showed [to the Abyssinians] who had gone out destroying, [and
p. 50a when] the Abyssinians [saw these signs on their hands] they did them no harm.

When this artifice which these Himyarites [had prepared] against the Abyssinians by this sign, [came to the knowledge] of the Christ-loving King Kāleb, this king [was confounded] and stupified and greatly [astonished] that in such a w[ay] they took refuge in [the victorious Cross], and he said [within] himself that perhaps these were not even . . . but had [denied] Him, still they had [escaped] from the massacre of the Jews and were delivered. But even if it [should be] that they were of those who had [denied], because of this that the memory of the Cross was in their souls, those [who] had done so should be purified and live. And therefore he ordered and [set forth] a command to all his troops [that wheresoever] anyone of [them] saw the sign of the [victorious] Cross [on the hand of] a man, he should not [be slain]. When now this [command] was heard and spread through [all the land of the Himyarites] [But when the Jews saw] that
p. 50b [some] of the Christians, who had made this sign of the Cross on their hands thereby had escaped from the slaughter by the Abyssinians, they also yielded, and did even as they, [tattooing] the symbol of the Cross [on] their [hands], and escaping from death. When now [this] too came to the knowledge of the God-loving King Kāleb, he wondered at their wickedness and said: "Although these not are worthy of pity because they have crucified their Lord and murdered His servants, nevertheless, lest they should think that the victorious Cross is not a strong place of refuge and a deliverer from [all] evils to all [who] seek shelter by it, those who show on their [hands] the [victorious sign] of the Cross of our Saviour [and] Him who makes us victorious [may live] either because [they are] believing [or] because

(one or more lines missing)

p. 51b by the artifice by means of . . . took refuge [in] the victorious [Cross] which through were of was further . . .

But some of those Christians who had denied made in writing a petition of repentance therefore, wishing to present it to the Christ-loving King Kaleb, that he might receive them as Christians and excuse and forgive them. And they asked some of the Abyssinians to intercede for them, [that they should] be allowed to come and present [to him] their petition. [When now these] men asked him this, he gave command [that they should be admitted] to him

(several lines missing)

the believing King [Kaleb] to them: "What do ye want [from me] . . ." p. 52a
Then they presented to him the petition.

XLV. [Petition] that was presented to the believing King [Kaleb] from some of the [Christians] who had denied but repented [and came] to do penance, the sense of which was:

"Our mouth is shut before God and before man and there is no excuse for us in anything at all, [except] in that we are ashamed before heaven [and] before the dwellers of the earth and also before thy palace. For we have committed wrong and done wickedness and provoked (God's) anger, and all . . . have not room for [our] sin. Therefore we cannot [open] our mouths to say anything to [excuse] ourselves, for we willingly have killed our souls and the [words] of [denial have harmed] them

(at least one column missing)

(Chapter XLVI)

ye have provoked Him to anger [by your denial of Him], but, behold, p. 53a
because ye now [confess] Him ye are acceptable to Him. Ye have been betrayers of your Lord together with Judas, but, behold, the sword of your repentance [is drawn] against the . . . of your God, as in the case of the head of the company of the apostles, who had denied and repented. Ye loved the life that fills the present age and died from God, but, behold, the voice of your hope has raised you and brought you to life. Ye have held more to man than to God and have been subjects of the curse of the prophet, but now, behold, the curse is taken from you, since ye have confessed your Lord before men. And He [will] also acknowledge you [before] His father, if ye remain in the true faith till the end. Ye have denied Christ as Peter did, but, behold, ye have repented like him and have regretted your sin, even weeping bitterly, and now take heart and fear not, for the door of mercy is open

for those who repent. Be strong and be not troubled and hear [the voice of your Lord] who says to you by His disciples: "Take heart and fear
 p. 53b not and persevere on the side of the truth

(one or more lines missing)

we . . . is right . . . that . . . but . . . when the God[~~loving~~] King [Kāleb had received] this (petition) from those who had denied [but repented] and had spoken also [with them] this speech that is written (here) [he allowed] them to go where they desired, and bade them bring together the rest of all them who had denied, till he went round among the towns of the land and performed what he had in his heart, and in order further that he might see and judge if they stayed firm in their repentance, and then give command to the priests who were with him, that they should absolve them and forgive them the apostasy against God. And those who repented went and were firm in their repentance, and did all that they had been ordered to do, and brought together
 p. 54a their fellows and came before him . . . that was

(one line missing?)

the [Himyarites] . . . from . . . and of [them who had been found] in those places [having hidden themselves] and not denied. And the [souls] of the prophets [rejoiced] in the erecting of these churches, and the spirits of the apostles exulted at their true faith and the bones of the holy martyrs were brought into them in triumph.

XLVII. Account that tells how this believing Kāleb, King of Abyssinia, by his authority appointed a king in the land of the Himyarites.

And this Christ-loving King Kāleb took a [man], one of the notables of the Himyarites, who was also of the royal family there, whose name was ' . . [WR]. And because he had seen in him good-will towards faith and that he had greatly desired for a long time to be baptized and to
 p. 54b be a Christian, he commanded the [priests who were with him] and they baptized him, and he acted as sponsor at his baptism and made him his spiritual son, and appointed him as king over all the land of the Himyarites. And [Kāle]b gave order on behalf of those who had apostatized, and they were brought before him, all who repented of their denial. And he spoke to them at length threatening, frightening and warning and encouraging them. And afterwards he ordered the priests who were with him to give them absolution and intercede before

God on their behalf that He might forgive them. [And] these God-
[loving] priests arranged a service [for their sake] and prayed to God
on their behalf and absolved and forgave them.

XLVIII. The second speech that the believing King Kāleb spoke to
them who repented after having denied.

And afterwards at the same time this zealous King Kāleb said to
them before [the priests] who had absolved them: "When I was about p. 55a
to leave our land to come [to this land to make war, I asked our holy
father, our blessed Bishop] Euprepios, if it was right that some of you
who had denied and would repent should be accepted or not. And he,
our excellent father, said to me: 'Even if this sin is great that they
have committed, still it is right that they should be accepted, for 'the
Lord is nigh unto those that call upon Him in truth' (Ps. 145, 18), and
because it is said to the prophet (Ez. 33, 11): 'As I live, saith the Lord,
Lord of lords, I have no pleasure in the death of the dead sinner, but
that he turn from his way and live before me', and further because
our Lord has said: 'I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners'
(Matth. 9, 13), and because of that other word that He said: 'Joy shall
be in heaven to the angels over one sinner that repenteth, more than
over ninety and nine just persons, which have not erred' (Luke 15, 7).
And He has shown us the truth of these words in the case of Peter,
[who] repented [after] having denied and was accepted. And further
I said to him: 'And how imperatively . . . And he, our father
everyone of . . . are commands . . . of . . . daring p. 55b

(one line missing)

between the peoples in peace [a space of] many years, ordering . . . in
repentance, those who in this way . . . and then, thereafter, worthy of
the Holy sacraments. But because [these] Himyarites are barbarians and
a people for whom such conditions would be too hard, they shall wait
one year only and then be esteemed worthy of the Holy sacraments.'
These things said now the holy Euprepios, our bishop, on behalf of
[those of] you who will repent. But do also [ye] take care and guard
and beware of yourselves that, in any thing that it is possible for
anyone of you to avoid, there may be nothing neglected in anything
that belongs to the true faith to make us ashamed before God or
before man or in one's own eyes. [And observe] also that command
that [I give you], that ye may not approach to the [Holy sacrament]
until one full year is gone from this day, in order that even so your

p. 56^a repentance may be accepted
(one line missing)

[imposed on them] these [conditions]. But after [the king and the army] that was with him had stayed in the land of the Himyarites about seven months, and after he had performed there all that he would, and built many churches in that land, and appointed in them priests from those who were with him, and appointed also a king, and made the land pay tribute, and left notables of the Abyssinians to guard the king against enemies, and also the churches that he had built, he brought with him many captives from the erring Himyarites and fifty princes of the royal family. And so went in peace to his land this Christ-loving Kaleb and all his army with him, having performed in the land of the Himyarites all that he wished by the power of [their Lord], who was with them, and [they took there all] that [their] eyes desired by the grace that followed them.

XLIX. Concluding discourse of this book after the departure
p. 56^b of the believing Kaleb, [King of the Abyssinians, from the
land of the Himyarites].

. . . . us to compose this varying work of many tales on different matters, telling of events that have taken place in the land of the Himyarites many generations ago, and even until the coronation of these victorious ones who have now suffered martyrdom there. (This we have told) according to what we, to the best of our ability, have learnt about the things that happened amongst the Himyarites from believing Himyaritic men, who were present as eye-witnesses of the events of which they have told us; and about the first coming of the Abyssinians to the land of the Himyarites, from blessed men who were with them; and further about the second coming of the Abyssinians, by still other blessed men who went with them to make war against the crucifiers by [the help of] God, those who with [their own eyes had seen] the events that they have told us of from
p. 57^a these who is righteous who was hired
their sighing was as the sighing of prisoners, He quickly and speedily and without delay took vengeance for the blood of His servants that had been shed, that [cried] unto Him even as Abel's [who was wrongfully slain], so too, as He delayed not the vengeance for him, but speedily in His justice rebuked Cain, so also He in His justice brought a hasty and sudden punishment upon

the murderous Himyarites for the blood of those victorious martyrs by the coming of the believing and Christ-loving King Kaleb. [So too] He delayed not on behalf of Enoch, [who pleased Him], but who was derided by the sons of his people, but took him away from them. So too He delayed not on behalf of Noah, the perfect, who was reviled by the sons of his generation, but speedily sent the plague of the waters of the flood and destroyed them. So too He delayed not on behalf of Abraham, His friend, when Sara was taken from him, [till] He revealed Himself before Abimelech and delivered her from [his hands. So too He delayed not on behalf of Sara, His handmaid, but p. 57^b speedily avenged her and cast out] from before her Hagar, their maid. So too He delayed not on behalf of Isaac, His beloved, when he was despised by Ishmael, [his] servant, but speedily drove away the latter, not only from the house of Abraham but even from the land of peace. So too He delayed not on behalf of Jacob, the [perfect], whom Esau envied, but gave him precedence by the right of the first-born, and enriched him with blessings and supported him with possessions. So too He delayed not on behalf of Joseph, the beauteous, when he was wrongfully sold by his brethren, but speedily made him their prince and lord and patron and sustainer. So too He delayed not on behalf of Job, His victorious servant, when he was struck by [the trial] from Satan, the accuser, as to his goods and his sons and his body; but speedily restored to him the health of his body and also sons and daughters and the double of all his goods. So too He delayed not on behalf of Moses, His elect, when he was hidden

(two lines missing)

. . . . and led him (?) . . . So too He delayed not on behalf of Aaron, p. 58^a His holy one, when he was despised in the eyes of the company of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, but speedily avenged him by [the fire that] consumed the house of Korah, and by the earth that swallowed up the house of Dathan and Abiram. So too He delayed not on behalf of Joshua, the son of Nun, His general, against whom many nations . . . but speedily avenged him by the victory of his sword that he gave him [over them], and by the doubling of [the day] when he made the sun and the moon to stand still in their spheres while he took vengeance on his enemies. So too He delayed not on behalf of Gideon, the deliverer, when the Midianites thought to blot out Israel, [but] speedily avenged him in that they (Israel) dispersed [them] and Gideon remained untroubled. So too He delayed not on behalf of Samson, His Nazirite,

when he was mocked by the Philistines, but speedily, for the soul of His servant, killed by his death three thousand who were in the [house]. So too He delayed not on behalf of Nephtah (Jephthah) [when]
 p. 58^b [against] him, but speedily avenged him by the victory over them that He gave him and he destroyed them. So too He delayed not on behalf of [Barak, His servant], when many Midianites had him and wished to kill him, but speedily avenged him by the death of Nabin and Sisera and their army. So too He delayed not on behalf of Hannah, who feared Him, when she was reviled by Peninnah, her rival, because of her barrenness, but speedily avenged her and gave her a son, who became judge over all Israel. So too He delayed not on behalf of Samuel, the righteous, whom Hophni and Phineas envied, but speedily killed them in the war. So too He delayed [not] on behalf of David, His prophet, when Saul wished to kill him, but speedily brought upon him an evil spirit which consumed him, and killed him by the sword of his enemies. [So too] He delayed not on behalf of Elijah, His mighty prophet, when there were twice sent [against him] fifty men . . . , but
 p. 59^a speedily

(one or two lines missing)

. . . . , but speedily both of them by the sword of their enemies. So too He delayed not on behalf of Elisha, His prophet, the keeper of secrets, when the Edomites had gone out after him to seize him, but speedily avenged him and struck them with blindness till Elisha [led] them [wheresoever] he wished. So too He delayed not on behalf of Micah, His prophet, when they smote him on his cheek and shut him up in the prison, until Ahab should return, but speedily avenged him, for he (Ahab) fell as he went from him by the sword of his [enemies]. So too He delayed not on behalf of [Hezekiah], His [servant], when he was reviled by the Assyrians, but speedily avenged him, for He reduced them to [silence] in the space of a moment. [So too He] delayed not on behalf of [Mordecai], His servant, when [Haman] envied [him
 p. 59^b and wished] to hang him . . . was . . . Haman(?) . . . on that day on which he had thought that [Mordecai] would be hanged. So too He delayed not on behalf of His handmaid Esther, when she had been reviled by Vashti, but speedily avenged her in that Vashti was compelled to leave the rank of queen and Esther succeeded in her stead. So too He delayed not on behalf of Sus[anna], the fair, when two old men dared to [violate her] and, because she consented not to them, [turned] and falsely accused her, but speedily killed [them] by the judgement

of Daniel, the friend, who, by the will of God, gave command, and they were stoned with stones and died as calumniators who had falsely accused an innocent. So too He delayed not on behalf of Daniel, the pleasant, when the Chaldeans falsely accused him, but speedily avenged him in that their bones were broken by the lions in the den into which they had cast him. So too He delayed not on behalf of the young men of the house of Hananjah, when the Chaldeans accused them and cast them p. 60^a

(one line missing)

[but speedily avenged them in that He made] a refreshing dew to [fall] upon them [that saved] them, and they cast their accusers into the fire, and they and their children were burned. So too He delayed not on behalf of the king Asa, when he was zealous for the Lord [and] drove out fornication from his people, and the king [Zerah] came to destroy him, but the Lord [speedily] saved him, and Zerah and his army were destroyed by the will of [God].

But what need is there that I should enumerate every one of the fathers who have invoked the Lord and He has answered them, and delivered them from their distresses, for, behold, even in our times there are many who have invoked Him and He has answered them, and delivered them from their distresses. And He has sung by the mouth of His prophet David (Ps. 50, 15) and said: "[Call] upon me in the day of [trouble: I will deliver] thee, and thou shalt glorify me", [and this] (Ps. 145, 18): "The Lord is nigh unto them that call upon Him in truth" and (Ps. 34, 18) "unto them that are of a broken heart" p. 60^b

(one line missing)

and He answered him not upon him and [he was ashamed.]

[And since] all [this] is known to us, my beloved, let us hold fast our confession and endure the distresses which come upon us for the sake of God, distresses which are as for a trial and proving of our faith. Let us receive the temptations which unceasingly befall us, and let us cry to God and urge Him with sighing that He may make an end of our temptation as His Godhead knows is of advantage for us.

So then He made vengeance for the holy churches that were burnt, and for the [servants] of God who were killed. And since, even if we have written the accounts of the coming [of] the believing [King] Kaleb, we have yet not been able fully to describe all the stupendous deeds that he performed in the land of the Himyarites, we and [ye] must nevertheless derive from this the belief that, behold, God is a

p. 61 a avenger and rewards those who exult [servants?]
 (one or two lines missing)

[that was added to his blood]
 to the holy Mar Thomas. But Stephanos, the alien and the sinner,
 has written it. Every one who reads in it or copies it may pray for
 the sinner and the poor wretch who by the gift of God composed this
 work, and for the scribe who has written it, and for his deceased ones,
 and for all believers deceased, that they may find mercy before God
 in the two worlds and be worthy of forgiveness of their sins and of
 a blessed life in the new world, by the prayers of all the holy church
 in heaven and on earth. Amen and Amen.

Pray for Stephanos, son of Mattai, the sinner, who has written this.

NOTES ON THE SYRIAC TEXT

NOTES ON THE SYRIAC TEXT

The text reproduces the Syriac text of the fragments as exactly as possibly. Every page contains line by line the remains of a page of the old MS. and every leaf corresponds to what is left of a leaf of the MS. Only some few letters and points which the scribe himself has blotted out are not reproduced, nor are single letters, or waving lines, written in the MS. at the ends of lines only to fill them up. Scribal errors are not corrected in the text but in the notes on the text. The rubrics and the running title are printed in red as they are written in the MS. But red points which in the MS. often alternate with the black ones in the compounded signs of the interpunctuation are not considered. As the alphabet of the scribe is Jacobite, the Jacobite characters are used in the print, notwithstanding that the scribe in his alphabet has retained, and constantly uses, a certain number of the old Estrangelo letters, as may be seen from the facsimiles. Doubtful letters are enclosed between square brackets [], but broken letters which are nevertheless certain are not marked. If a number of letter are enclosed between the same square brackets this does not necessarily mean that there are visible traces of them all in the MS.

Conjectural restorations of the text are enclosed between < >. As to the sign ÷ cf. above, p. xvi. I have used an asterisk under the last line of a column to indicate that it can be seen from the fragment itself (and not only the context) that this line was the last line of that column in the MS. Where this sign is missing only the context shows whether the column is complete or not. The same method is followed in an analogous way at the top of those columns in which the beginning of the first line, with the sign ÷, is lost. In cases where a running title is preserved above the first line there was of course no need for this asterisk.

A whole line of angular dots indicates a line of which only illegible traces are preserved in the MS., or the existence of which is established by the corresponding line of the other column of the page being still preserved.

Thus it is not meant by this to state for certain that precisely one line of the text is missing in this place; as a rule I have tried to state as exactly as possible in the following notes on the text as well as in the translation the extent of the greater lacunae.

Shorter lacunae are indicated by a number of the same angular dots. The last letter preserved before this lacuna and the first one after it are placed as exactly as possible under and over the letters of the preceding and the following line under and over which, respectively, they are written in the MS. In this way it is possible to calculate approximatively the amount of a short lacuna in the text. One must bear in mind, however, that the Syriac letters are subject to much variation as to the space they occupy; sometimes they are prolonged a great deal to fill up a line, sometimes the script is very close or the last letters of a line are written above the preceding letters of the word to which they belong. The number of letters in the lines therefore is variable. So is also, to a certain degree, the number of the lines in a column. The lines of the two columns on the same page of the MS., therefore, do not correspond to each other as regularly as they do in the print. There, in consequence, two columns of one page do not always end so uniformly as in the MS.; see for instance pp. 21, 31 and others.

As to the conjectural restorations of the text they must, of course, be judged in relation to the circumstances. Their aim is often in the first place only to show the connection of the sentences. They cannot always claim to give the exact wording of the passage lost, though, on the other hand, the often strictly limited space to be filled in restricts the number of possible alternatives; see note on p. 17. It goes without saying that I have ventured upon a conjecture only in those cases where the context seems to indicate in a fairly unambiguous manner what must have been the contents of the lost passage. Even so, in many cases, I was not able to find the appropriate expression, and was obliged to leave it to be supplied by others.

- P. 3. Fragm. I^r; for the condition of the fragment see Plate I. One (cf. note on p. 4) or, at most, two lines are missing at the top; the outer part of the upper half of the leaf is lost, the first intact line of the outer column of this page as well as of the following being l. 12.
- col. a: l. 1. Nothing remains of this line; the last word is restored only to show how I interpret the following line.

1. 2. Cf. p. 60, 23f. and Ps. 62, 12, Prov. 24, 12.
1. 8. ܐܬܝܬܝ for ܐܬܝܬܝ (from ܐܬܝ).
1. 27. Of the first word only ܐ remains; possibly it is to be read ܐܬܝ instead of ܐܬܝܬܝ.
1. 28. Faint traces of ܐ, ܬ and ܐ are the only remains of the first word, cf. p. 61, 8.
1. 29. The two words are added under the last main line of the column.
- col. b: ll. 1 ff. Nothing remains of l. 1. The letters ܐܬܝܬܝ (of l. 2) are clear; there never was a ܐ before them as required on the analogy of other rubrics. On this rubric see p. xlviii.
1. 5. If ܐܬܝܬܝ (l. 2) is right the missing word on this line probably was ܐܬܝܬܝ; or one may read ܐܬܝܬܝ l. 2 and ܐܬܝܬܝ on this line.
- ll. 15–19. The letters ܐ (l. 16) and ܐ (l. 18) indicate of course that the rubrics under ܐ and ܐ, respectively, are to be transposed. The “sign” appeared in the Abyssinian army after its landing in the land of the Himyarites.
- P. 4. Fragg. I^v, cf. note on p. 3; if I have restored l. 1 correctly only one line is missing at the top of this fragment on every page (not counting the great part of the outer columns torn away).
- col. a: ll. 1 ff. On the rubric restored cf. p. 7^a, 17 ff. Of line 2 only remains a long horizontal stroke, the bottom of an Estrangelo Lāmadh (of ܐ) lengthened to fill up the line.
1. 11. Before ܐ, which is not quite certain, there remains the foot of a ܐ or of two or three connected letters the last of which was ܐ, or possibly ܐ.
- col. b: l. 1. Is supplied from p. 21^a, 23 ff.
1. 4. Traces of the last two letters (ܐ) are visible between the lines above the remains of ܐ.
1. 26. The remains of the name ܐܬܝܬܝ are to be seen under the last line.
- P. 5. Fragg. II resembles in many ways Fragg. I (see note on p. 3), but is in a somewhat better condition. In the boards it was put together with Fragg. I but the other way up, and has, thus, a great piece torn off from the inner part of the lower half corresponding to the piece lost from the outer part of the upper half of that fragment.
- col. a: l. 16. the ܐ is very doubtful, only the bottom of the letter remaining.

- l. 23. For  the scribe first wrote a  which he afterwards corrected into . I do not think it necessary to note such corrections in the future.
- l. 26f. Only the top of  remains. Of ll. 27ff. nothing at all is left.
- col. b: l. 11. On both sides of a worm-hole traces are visible like the left curve of a  and the right one of a .
- l. 15.  is here written upright as also pp. 21^b, 18. 26^b, 5.
- l. 26f. Of the three first words nothing remains but the tops of  and , a faint trace, possibly, of , and the plural points; of the two last words a little more is visible. Nothing remains of ll. 27ff.
- P. 6. At the top of the fragment are visible the feet of the letters of the word , the first part of the running title; cf. above, p. xvi ff.
- col. a: l. 27. The bottom of the line is cut off.
- col. b: l. 7. Faint traces only are left of the letters , nothing of the rest.
- l. 20ff. With these lines cf. p. 56^a, 26ff.
- l. 25. Before  are three black and, between them, two red dots indicating a new section of the text, the Index being finished. As this line stands a little higher than l. 27 of col. a, it is probable that there once was one line more (at least) in this column.
- P. 7. As to Fragm. III see Plate II and p. xiv; Fragm. XXXI is the top of the leaves (pp. 7—8, 13—14) and Fragm. XXXII their bottom. Between Fragm. XXXI and Fragm. III there is lost a strip of paper bearing one line, of which the tops of the letters , , and  (col. a, l. 4) and one  more (or , see below) are the only remains; cf. l. 4 of col. b, and further pp. 8, 5. 13, 4. 14, 4. Fragm. III and Fragm. XXXII fit together like two pieces in a puzzle. Unfortunately great portions of the outer columns are cut off (see above, p. xiv), and are lost. Thus, of this page the outer half of col. b is missing.
- col. a: l. 4. For the traces of the word  see above. Before those traces there is, at the beginning of the line, the top of a , if it was the first letter of the line, or of a , if it was the second one.

1. 26. Most of this line is on Fragn. III, but the bottoms of the letters ܐ ܠܐ on Fragn. XXXII.
 1. 27. Most of this line is on Fragn. XXXII, but the tops of the letters ܐܡܥܐ on Fragn. III.
- col. b: 1. 1. The ܐ that I suggest after ܐ might as well be the first stroke of a ܐ or an ܐ. The name(?) ܐܠܚܐܐ is quite clear and beyond any doubt.
1. 2. For ܡܢܬܐ, proposed by me, one might as well read a numeral, e.g. ܐܚܕܐ, cf. Letter of Simeon, ed. Guidi, p. 509, l. 6.
 1. 3. ܡܡܠܐ, cf. p. 11^a, 15.
 1. 4. Of ܐ only a faint trace is discernible.
 1. 5. Nothing remains of this line, cf. above, note on p. 7.
- II. 6f. The readings are uncertain, the top of the fragment being darkened here and the script faded. On l. 7 a worm-hole has made the reading still more doubtful. I am not able to read the traces before ܐ (l. 7) as ܐ, cf. l. 1; they seem more like ܡܡ. Also ܐܠ is doubtful but the first word, ܡܡܠܐ, is, I think, fairly certain; cf. Plate II, which shows the traces of the letters here nearly as well as does the fragment itself. I wonder whether the following relation is not in connection with the story told in Ṭabarī, Ser. I, p. 930, 2ff., especially ll. 9–11.
1. 18. ܡܡܠܐ is supplied from the Letter of Simeon, op. cit., p. 502, 19.
- II. 19f. Cf. p. 19^a, 15f.
1. 22. ܡܡܠܐ, cf. p. 6^a, 16; if we restore ܡܡܠܐ, not to mention ܡܡܠܐ, the line will be long.
 1. 26. ܐ is restored from the tops of two letters visible at the bottom of Fragn. III. No other traces are left neither of this line nor of l. 27.
- P. 8. As to the fragments cf. above, note on p. 7; the outer part of the first column is lost.
- col. a: 1. 1. By the letters ܡܡܐ supplied at the beginning the line becomes longer than most and so it actually is in the MS; perhaps even the word ܡܡ, supplied p. 7^b, 27, should be placed at the beginning of this line to make it still longer.
- II. 3f. Cf. *Acta Martyrum*, ed. Bedjan, vol. II, p. 248, and *Julianos der Abtrünnige*, ed. G. Hoffmann, p. 98, 15f.

- ll. 5f. Nothing remains of l. 5; of l. 6 faint traces of one or two letters are to be seen at the top of Fragg. III.
- l. 10. The trace of $\approx$ may be read as $\simeq$ ($\text{ل}\simeq$).
- l. 12. A slight trace before $\sim$ suggests a $\circ$ or ω . I was not able to find the word required.
- l. 13. Of $\approx$ next to nothing is visible.
- l. 26. Of ل and $\approx$ only the tops are left.
- l. 27. ل is all that remains of the line and is written in the space between the columns. Fragg. XXXII has preserved no trace of this column, just as it has nothing of the last column of p. 7.
- col. b: l. 4. Only the tops of the letters put in brackets remain; but the reading seems certain.
- l. 5. There are no traces of this line on either fragment.
- l. 6. Of the letters in brackets only obliterated traces remain.
- ll. 11f. A somewhat strange way to express what must be the meaning.
- l. 27. The top of $\circ\circ\omega$ on Fragg. III; the rest of the line on Fragg. XXXII.

P. 9. Fragg. IV in essentials resembles Fragg. III, cf. note on p. 7 and Introduction, p. xiv. Fragg. XXXIV is the top of the leaves (pp. 9—10, 11—12, see Pl. VII), Fragg. XXXIII their bottom. Here also (cf. note on p. 7 on Fragg. XXXI and Fragg. III) there is a gap between the greater fragment (Fragg. IV) and its upper complement (Fragg. XXXIV). There are in two cases, p. 10^b, l. 5 (above the ω of $\omega\text{ل}$) and p. 12^b, l. 3 (under ω of $\text{ل}\omega\text{ل}\omega\text{ل}$), traces of letters (in the first case of a ω , in the second case of an ω , or of an $\approx$) which do not correspond to what still exists of p. 10^b, l. 4 and p. 12^b, l. 4, respectively, and consequently belong to lines now missing. Probably only one line is lost in every column except in the second column of p. 9 and in the first column of p. 10. Fragg. XXXIII fits exactly with Fragg. IV.

Between p. 8 and p. 9 there is, as the contents show, a gap. As the end of p. 8 is intact, as well as the beginning of p. 9, the lacuna embraces at least one leaf. As, however, the corresponding lacuna between p. 12 and p. 13 represents three entire chapters (Chapters X—XII), besides the end of Chapter IX and the beginning of

col. a: ll. 1f. In the middle of these lines the paper is rubbed and the script nearly (l. 1), or totally (l. 2), obliterated.

1. 4. Only the bottoms of the letters are to be seen at the top of Fragm. IV. Of Δ ! nothing remains.

- col. b: The outer part of this column is cut away, see above, p. XV.

11. 3f. Nothing at all remains; delete <٥٥١ . ٤ .>.

1. 25. The top of λ on Fragn. IV, the rest on Fragn. XXXIII.

col. a: l. 1. A hole in the paper and the faded script make the two last letters doubtful. Perhaps there are traces of a letter before i.

11. 3—5. Only two lines are missing here; the third line of dots is a mistake.

1. 10. The traces interpreted as **•** can hardly be read otherwise. The line is long, the last letters (**•**) being written above the line.

- l. 11. is long; the last letters (ل) are written in the space between the columns.
- l. 12. Very little remains of ة, but it is certain.
- l. 27. On Fragn. XXXIII; the traces visible before ٢٢٢ strictly should be read as ة or ة but I am not able to see what this would mean.
- col. b: l. 1. The epithet for God ٢٢٢; also p. 13^a, 22, used both times by the Jewish King, and p. 28^a, 22. It is well-known from the inscriptions but it is noticeable that it is used also for the First person of the Trinity in the inscription of Abrahā, Gl. 618 (CIS IV, 541). With this passage cf. Acta, p. 723B: καὶ ἄρχεται ὁμνύειν τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τοῦ νόμου, καὶ τὰς ἁγίας δυνάμεις".
- l. 3. Only the tops of certain letters (ا, ل, ة, ل) are visible; the last five letters (لا ٢٢٢) seem to be certain. I should like to read لا ٢٢٢ and then continue (l. 4): <سبح الله> <الله>... but there certainly never was a ا here, and there is not the slightest trace of the plural points. As to the ٢ of l. 4 see note on p. 9.
- l. 4. The trace of the ٢, just mentioned, is all that remains of this line.
- l. 25. The bottoms of the letters of the word ٢٢٢ are on Fragn. XXXIII and so is l. 26.
- P. 11. As to the fragments see note on p. 9; col. b is nearly totally lost. On the running title see above, pp. xvif.
- col. a: l. 2. Holes in the paper and fading of the script make the words in brackets doubtful.
- l. 24. The bottoms of the letters are cut off; in the last half of the line only the tops remain. Of the ة that I propose before ٢٢٢ not a trace is visible though of the following letters the upper third, at least, remains. Even ة are not certain, ة is beyond doubt. At the end of the line the top of an ل or a ل is visible.
- l. 25. is on Fragn. XXXIII; of ٢٢٢ (٢٢٢?) only the bottom remains; instead of ة one may read ة, and instead of ة perhaps ا.
- P. 12. As to the fragments see note on p. 9; col. a is almost totally lost.

- col. b: l. 3. On the scanty remainder of l. 3 see note on p. 9.
- l. 4. Only the bottoms of the letters visible, and of the two first letters not even that.
- l. 26. is on Fragm. XXXIII.
- P. 13. As to the fragments see on p. 7; col. b is almost totally lost. As to the gap in the text cf. note on p. 9.
- col. a: l. 3. Only the tops of the letters remain; there are also some traces of an *l* and a *Δ* after *ⲙⲗ*.
- l. 4. Nothing remains.
- l. 5. Only faint traces of the bottoms of the letters are visible at the top of Fragm. III; of the last word remain only the *j* and the main angle of the *Δ*.
- l. 25f. At the beginning of these lines stand the usual marks of quotation; cf. above, p. xxix.
- l. 28. is on Fragm. XXXII.
- P. 14. As to the fragments see on p. 7; col. a is almost totally lost.
- col. b: l. 4. Nothing remains of this line.
- l. 25. On Fragm. III very few traces remain of the first three words; the rest is preserved on Fragm. XXXII.
- P. 15. Fragm. V resembles in many ways Fragm. III and Fragm. IV, cf. above, p. xiv, Fragm. XXXVIII is the top of the first leaf (pp. 15—16, see Pl. VII) and Fragm. XXXV its bottom. Fragm. XLVIII is a semicircular piece of paper broken off from the top of Fragm. V, cf. above, p. xv and Pl. VII. As to the gap in the text cf. above, p. xviii.
- col. a: l. 4. Nothing remains.
- l. 26. The tops of the tallest letters are visible on Fragm. V, the rest is preserved on Fragm. XXXV. Of the last two words, however, only faint traces of the bottoms remain, and are scarcely decisive.
- P. 16. As to the fragments see above, note on p. 15.
- col. a: ll. 15—17. The rubric is restored after p. 4, 20 ff., the letters *ⲙⲗ* (l. 17) as well as the contents of the following columns showing that this is the rubric required here; delete *ⲙⲗ*. Line 16 is short.
- col. b: l. 4. Only a *ⲙ* written upside down shows that here once stood the name of the tyrant; of the following word only the tops of the letters remain and the reading is doubtful.

1. 5. Traces of the three first words are on Fragg. XLVIII, the three last letters on Fragg. V.
1. 27. Most of this line is on Fragg. V, only some traces of 𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣 being on Fragg. XXXV.

P. 17.

Fragg. VI resembles in many ways Fragg. V, cf. above, note on p. 15; Fragg. XXXVI is the top of its leaves (pp. 17—18 and 19—20), fitting it exactly as to the inner columns; Fragg. XXXVII has preserved the bottom of the first leaf (pp. 17—18); Fragg. LII bears traces of the last two letters of col. b, l. 1 (and the first letter of p. 18^a, 1), and Fragg. XLIV, finally, is part of the outer margin of the leaf, containing 1—5 letters of the ends of ll. 6—17 of this page and a corresponding portion, that is to say the first letters, of the beginnings of ll. 7—19 of p. 18^a. This is not the only case of a strip cut off an outer margin being preserved amongst the fragments. Another instance is Fragg. XLII, see note on p. 47, and another, certainly, though not identified and replaced yet, Fragg. XLV, cf. above, p. xiv. Unfortunately this Fragg. XLIV does not contain all that is cut away of the lines indicated. As can be seen on pp. 17f., the outer columns of the text are cut away to at least half of their breadth, but the fragment has preserved only the edge of it with the last, or the first letters, respectively, of these columns. Thus I was not able to identify and replace this fragment till I had already restored conjecturally the text on p. 17. Not till the very evening before sending my manuscript to the printer did I observe that the letters on this fragment were the same as those I had placed conjecturally at the end of ll. 7—16 of p. 17^b. The only differences were l. 11, where I had restored 𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣, but the fragment shows 𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣, and l. 14, where my conjecture was 𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣, but the fragment has 𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣. For MS. 𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣 (l. 6) and the preceding 𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣 I had proposed nothing but 𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣. In the first line of the column, where Fragg. LII, which is a little piece of the same kind, has 𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣, I had suggested 𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩣. In places, where the text is not already restored, (pp. 17^b, 17, 18^a, 7—13) a fragment of this kind is of very little help. This accounts

for the fact that I have not yet been able to identify Fragn. XLV. Between Fragn. VI and Fragn. XXXVII there is a gap, see below, note on p. 18^b, 23.

col. a: l. 4. The tops of the letters are on Fragn. XXXVI, the rest on Fragn. VI.

l. 6. ܡܠܝܬܐ, thus in MS. for ܡܠܝܬܐ.

l. 24. The tops of most of the letters can be seen at the bottom of Fragn. VI; the rest of these letters are not on Fragn. XXXVII, cf. just above, note on p. 17.

l. 25. Very faint traces of the letters of this line are visible on Fragn. XXXVII. There may be one or more lines missing between l. 24 and l. 25, see note on p. 18^b, 23.

l. 26 is not a regular line.

col. b: l. 1. See note on p. 18^a, 1.

ll. 6—16. Cf. above, note on p. 17.

l. 24. There are no traces of this line, cf. note on col. a, l. 25.

ll. 25 f. are on Fragn. XXXVII; l. 26 is not a regular line.

P. 18. As to the fragments cf. note on p. 17.

col. a: l. 1. Fragment LII contains on this page nothing but ܡܠܝܬܐ. This, however, is enough to identify the fragment.

ll. 4 f. Nothing remains.

l. 6. is on Fragn. VI.

l. 24. is the last line on Fragn. VI. Between this line and the following there necessarily was at least one line corresponding to l. 24 of col. b; cf. note on that line.

l. 25. is on Fragn. XXXVII; reading doubtful; only ܡܠܝܬܐ is certain.

col. b: l. 4. The tops of the letters are on Fragn. XXXVI, the bottoms on Fragn. VI.

l. 18. ܡܠܝܬܐ is misprint for ܡܠܝܬܐ.

l. 23. corresponds to l. 24 of col. a. As, on the other hand, l. 25 corresponds to l. 25 of that column, the gap to be supposed between Fragn. VI and Fragn. XXXVII embraced the space necessary to fill out the context between l. 23 and l. 25 of col. b. If I am right in my reconstruction (l. 24) only one line is required for this purpose. In this case one line is missing between l. 24 and l. 25 of col. a, corresponding to l. 25 of col. a and l. 24 of col. b on p. 17. This suits the normal size of the leaf.

P. 19. As to Fragn. VI and Fragn. XXXVI see note on p. 17;

- Fragm. XL is from the bottom of the leaf (pp. 19—20). As to the gap in the text between p. 18 and p. 19 see above, p. xix.
- col. a: l. 1f. With the common expression ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲛ ⲉⲃⲉⲙⲉⲛ ⲉⲃⲉⲙⲉⲛ (e. g. pp. 27^a, 10. 28^a, 10. 15f. 23) cf. Acta § 7 (p. 728^F): “Σὲ δὲ ἀρνούμεθα καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν σου”.
- l. 3. is on Fragg. XXXVI, and traces of some of its letters on Fragg. VI.
- l. 17. MS. ⲁⲙⲉⲛ with the points of the plural.
- l. 25. is on Fragg. VI.
- l. 26. is on Fragg. XL. Only the context shows that there is no gap between the fragments. The last letters are too faded to be legible (ⲉⲃⲉⲙⲉⲛ ⲉⲃⲉⲙⲉⲛ?)
- col. b: ll. 13—15. Notwithstanding the red ink there is no new chapter beginning here. It is possible that a sort of Appendix to Chapter XVI begins here telling of miracles in connection with the martyrdoms; cf. such rubrics p. 24^b, 4. 25^b, 10. 30^b, 2 and see above, p. lvii. As to the names ⲙⲁⲙⲉ and ⲙⲁⲙⲉ (l. 16) cf. above, p. 14^b, 18, and below, List of names; [ⲙ] (or ⲙ) after ⲙⲁⲙⲉ (l. 13) is very uncertain, as next to nothing remains of the letter.
- P. 20. As to the Fragments see note on p. 19.
- col. b: ll. 1—3 are on Fragg. XXXVI.
- ll. 4—24. are on Fragg. VI.
- ll. 25f. are on Fragg. XL, l. 26 is not a regular line.
- P. 21. As to Fragg. V see note on p. 15; Fragg. XXXIX is from the top of the leaf, Fragg. XLI from its bottom, see Pl. VII.
- col. a: l. 3. The last portion of the line is cut off at the bottom of Fragg. XXXIX.
- ll. 4—25. are on Fragg. V; at the bottom of this fragment the tops of ⲙ and ⲛ at the beginning of l. 26 are visible.
- l. 26. is on Fragg. XL as well as a trace of the ⲛ of l. 25.
- col. b: l. 1. MS. ⲉⲃⲉⲙⲉⲛ for ⲉⲃⲉⲙⲉⲛ.
- l. 3. No traces of this line are preserved on either fragment.
- ll. 4—23. are on Fragg. V.
- ll. 8—12. Cf. above, p. xxix.
- l. 24. After ⲉ a trace remains of the following letter, probably an ⲛ or a ⲙ.
- P. 22. As to the fragments see note on p. 21.

col. a: ll. 1f. Cf. p. 4^b, ll. 6ff.

ll. 14f. Cf. above, p. xxvii f.

l. 26. is on Fragn. XLI.

col. b. l. 25. is on Fragn. XLI.

P. 23. Fragn. VII contains the upper half of the page (leaf), Fragn. VIII the lower one; the dotted lines correspond (as usual) to lines of which there still remain some traces, the number of other lines missing is arrived at by calculation from the ordinary size of a leaf; see Plate III.

col. a: l. 13—15. Of ω nothing remains, the corner of the fragment being torn away or cut round. The same is the case with ϕ .

P. 24. As to the fragments see note on p. 23 and cf. Plate III.

col. a: l. 4. ܐܠܝ instead of ܐܬܝ , and so ll. 9 and 23.

l. 15. The last word certainly was ܐܠܝܢ again.

PP. 25—44. As to the fragments (Fragn. IX—XVIII) see pp. xiv f., xvii and Plate IV.

P. 25. Of the running title nothing but faint strokes of the bottoms of the letters remain.

l. 15. The ܝ of ܡܝܢ is very doubtful; probably there is no point.

col. a: l. 31. Only the tops of the letters are visible; the first name probably was ܡܝܢ . As this line corresponds to l. 28 of col. b there possibly was one more line in this column.

col. b: l. 15. ܐܠܝܢ , cf. Acta § 4 (p. 723 B): “τὸν ἀνθρωποκτόνον ὄφιν ... μιμεῖται.”

l. 29. There is not quite so wide a space between this line and the preceding as is ordinarily the case. Most probably, thus, this line was the last one in this column.

P. 26, col. a: l. Over ܐܠ is visible what seems to be the lowest part of two points (the points of the plural). One would prefer to see there a stroke indicating the abbreviation ܐܠܝ for ܐܠܝܢ ; perhaps we should read ܐܠܝ as an abbreviation for ܐܠܝܢ , but nothing remains of that stroke, the top of the page being cut off.

l. 15. With expressions as ܐܠܝܢ , ܐܠܝܢ (e. g. 28^b, 18), ܐܠܝܢ (p. 15^a, 26), cf. Acta § 8 (p. 729 B): “χαλεπῶ θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖσθε”, § 10 (p. 731 B): “ὅτι κακῶ θανάτῳ τελευτήσεις”.

l. 29. After ܐܠܝܢ only the tops of ܐ , ܝ and ܢ are visible.

col. b: l. 28. Of this line only the tops of three letters remain; the first word cannot have been ܐܪܡܐ .

P. 27, col. a: l. 19. MS. ܐܡܝܐ ܐܡܝܐ for ܐܡܝܐ ܐܡܝܐ ; with the passage cf. Acta § 8 (p. 729^B): "τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ."

l. 27. Of the letters of the two first words only the tops are visible; of the following line (or lines) not the slightest trace remains.

col. b: l. 2. ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ , cf. Acta § 8 (p. 729^B): "Μὴ γένοιτο οὖν ἡμῖν ἀρνήσασθαι . . ."

l. 28. Very faint traces of this line are visible; the context shows that no line is missing here.

P. 28, col. b: l. 11. MS. ܡܝܢ for ܡܝܢ .

l. 29. The line is cut; only the upper portions of the letters are visible.

P. 29, col. a: ll. 5f. The meaning is not clear; if there is no lacuna, one must at least read ܡܝܢ instead of ܡܝܢ .

ll. 24f. Instead of ܡܝܢ and ܡܝܢ read ܡܝܢ and ܡܝܢ .

l. 29. Only the upper parts of some letters of this line visible; no line missing after it.

P. 30, col. a: l. 29. Cf. p. 24^a, 26f. and p. 25^b, 23.

col. b: l. 2. MS. ܡܝܢ instead of ܡܝܢ ; as to the names in the following list cf. Appendix.

l. 5. In ܡܝܢ there is no point over ܡ in the MS.

l. 29. Read ܡܝܢ .

l. 30. Only the absolute tops of some letters are visible, but the reading is certain.

P. 31, col. a: l. 30. The reading is, from a graphical point of view, very doubtful. The remains of this line consist only in three pairs of plural points and the very tops of letters corresponding to the *alaphs* and *taws* of the restoration proposed in the text. Still, if the reading is right, there is room for two or three letters before ܡܝܢ , the top of its first ܡ being visible just beneath the left angle of the ܡ of ܡܝܢ in the preceding line.

col. b: l. 10. ܡܝܢ (instead of ܡܝܢ) is the reading of the MS.

P. 33, col. b: l. 1. ܡܝܢ , thus MS. instead of ܡܝܢ .

l. 9: ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ , cf. ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ (p. 44^a, 27) and Acta § 5 (p. 724^D): "ὁ δόλιος ὄφεις," § 10 (p. 731^B): "ὁ βύθιος δράκων."

ll. 20f., cf. above, p. lvii.

l. 24. MS. ܐܘܠܐ for ܐܘܠܐ.

P. 34, col. a: l. 1. The line is long, ܐܘܠܐ being written above it.

l. 23. ܐܘܠܐ for ܐܘܠܐ and other instances as e. g. below, l. 26 and l. 28, cf. Nöldeke, *Syriac Grammar*, § 64 (p. 45, footnote 1).

col. b: l. 3. ܐܘܠܐ, cf. Arabic ركب "tie (a camel) with the ركب." The verb is new for the Syriac dictionary, cf., perhaps, ܐܘܠܐ.

l. 22. ܐܘܠܐ; as to the verb ܐܘܠܐ "to fist" (see also above, l. 4 and below, p. 35^b, 3), cf. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*. The substantive ܐܘܠܐ "blow" (p. 35^b, 2 and 36^b, 15) is certainly of this root and not of the root ܐܘܠܐ (*Thes. Syr.*, col. 2063).

P. 35, col. b: l. 12. MS. ܐܘܠܐ for ܐܘܠܐ.

P. 36, col. a: ll. 20—27ff., cf. above, p. lxv.

col. b: l. 11. As to the name ܐܘܠܐ, cf. List of Names.

P. 38, col. a: l. 28. Of this line the only remains are four pairs of plural points and the tops of some letters of the three first words and perhaps also of the ܐ of the last one. Of ܐܘܠܐ nothing remains but the points of the plural and I doubt whether this restoration is right. Cf., however, next column, l. 5, p. 39^a, l. 11, and the Letter of Simeon, ed. Guidi, p. 504, l. 18. It seems to me more probable, now, that the word lost here had no letter so tall as a ܐ or an ܐ. If this was the case it necessarily was a verb.

col. b: l. 29. The tops of some other letters are to be seen before and after ܐܘܠܐ, but I am not able to restore the text.

P. 39, col. a: l. 28. The lower part of the line is cut off; after ܐ nothing remains but the tops of two ܐ and a faint trace that may belong to ܐ.

col. b: l. 1. There is a little line above ܐ, but I do not understand what it means.

l. 7. MS. ܐܘܠܐ for ܐܘܠܐ.

l. 27. There may have been room for one line more in this column.

P. 40, col. a: l. 28. Several tops of ܐ (ܐ, ܐ), ܐ, ܐ belonging to this line are to be seen at the bottom of the fragment.

col. b: l. 9. MS. ܐܘܠܐ for ܐܘܠܐ.

ll. 23f. MS. ܐܘܠܐ for ܐܘܠܐ.

P. 41, col. a: l. 1. MS.  for .

l. 28. The line was very short; the word  begins in the middle of it and is widened so as to fill it up. Only the top of a  or  remains of the preceding words.

col. b: l. 27f. Only the tops of   remain at the end of the line. Of the following line nothing is left.

P. 42, col. a: l. 20.  a scribe's slip for .

col. b: l. 15. With the translation of this line cf. Letter of Simeon, p. 506, 4f.

l. 22. A verb is missing, or  of  is a miswriting.

P. 43, col. a. Of the missing line (or lines) at bottom of the column nothing remains.

col. b: l. 28. Very faint traces of one or two letters are visible.

P. 44, col. a: l. 29. Only the tops of some letters remain; the first letter of the line perhaps was , the last ones () seem certain.

P. 45. As to Fragm. XIX^r and XX^r see pp. xiv and xx, and cf. Plate V; as to Fragm. XLIX^r see Plate VII and below, on col. b, ll. 13ff.

col. a: l. 5. Before  there are traces of what may have been a  or a  and the top of an .

l. 12. The tops of two or three letters are visible at the bottom of the fragment.

l. 13. Before the point there are traces of a letter like  (or .

l. 14. Before  a trace of a letter that may have been .

l. 20.  is too short to fill up the gap at the beginning of the line.

l. 22. Perhaps we should restore something like    .

col. b: l. 2. The last two words still remain, but the script is faded.

l. 8. After , and connected with it, is a trace that may belong to a  (or , or, possibly, ); the following traces of letters are illegible.

l. 9.  seems certain; the following letters are doubtful.

l. 12. The tops of some letters are visible but doubtful.

l. 13ff.  is on Fragm. XLIX and so are   of l. 14,  of l. 15, and  of l. 16.

P. 46. As to the fragments see above, note on p. 45, and Plates VI and VII.

col. a: l. 1. The line is long,  being written above it. At the

1.2. The first word is faded and illegible; one would expect *مكة*, or something like that, but the faint traces of the last two letters suggest *ك* or *ح*, one of the preceding letters possibly was *ل* or *ل*.

1. 14. The traces of letters between • and \ are doubtful (•••••?)

P. 47. Fragm. XXI contains the upper half of the page (leaf), Fragm. XXII the lower one, cf. above, p. xv; Fragm. XLII is from the inner part of the inner column of the upper half, and Fragm. XLI the corresponding portion of the lower half. These two pieces, though torn and worm-eaten, fit in well with the greater fragments, from which they are torn off unintentionally, not cut off as Fragm. XLIV, XLV, see p. xiv. A little below the beginning of the last line of this column is a sign like ÷ and under that some faded traces, probably of letters. I cannot make out if this was a marginal note or, possibly, a quire-mark; on the assumption made above (p. xviii) this leaf is the first one of a quire. The first alternative, however, seems to me by far more probable.

1. 15. Nothing remains of this line.

1. 17. The first letter (a small one) is lost; of the next a trace remains that possibly belongs to a **a**, and finally there is a faded trace of what probably was a **u**. Between these two there is room for a letter like **z** or **n** or something similar.

1.24. The letters of the word **حسبهم** are faded and next to illegible; the word is, however, beyond doubt, cf. Judges 7, 22.

P. 48. As to the fragments cf. note on p. 47.

- col. a: ll. 5 ff. I cannot find out what occasion is referred to (Nabal and Abigail?, I Sam. 25). There is no room for a name before <حج> (l. 5); for <حج> (l. 6) read <حج>. In l. 7 <حج> is a mere guess; one may read <حج>, or something quite different; of the last ح only a faint trace remains.
- ll. 8 ff. Cf. I Kings 18, 19. 40.
- ll. 11 f. With the text restored cf. II Kings 19, 35.
- l. 14. Cf. II Chr. 14, 9.
- ll. 16 f. Cf. Dan. 3, 27.
- l. 21. MS. <حج> for <حج>.
- P. 49. Fragn. XXIII is the inner portion and Fragn. XXIV the outer portion of a leaf torn in half lengthways, cf. above, p. xiv f. Fragn. XXIII, being broader than Fragn. XXIV, contains not only the inner columns of the two pages of the leaf but also the inner letters, first or last respectively, of the outer columns. The leaf is, however, in bad condition, worm-eaten and torn, especially on the inner edges of the two fragments; of the upper margin of the leaf a portion still remains; at the bottom a strip is cut off, but probably only one line is lost there.
- col. a: l. 16. <حج> is a scribe's error for <حج>, cf. p. 6^b, 3.
- l. 24. A great worm-hole has destroyed the word before <حج> at the beginning of the line.
- l. 28. The missing line or lines certainly stated that the Abyssinians found in custody in Najrān four Christians who were seized for execution, and the names of whom are given in the following column.
- col. b: l. 3. As the context is not clear it is uncertain what the missing word was; perhaps <حج>.
- l. 4. For <حج> we perhaps should read <حج>; a personal name is meant.
- l. 5—8. The story of these persons was told in Chapters XXXV and XXXVI; see pp. 5^b, 18 ff.
- P. 50. For the fragments see above, note on p. 49.
- P. 51. For Fragn. XXV see above, p. xv; a great piece is torn off from the upper part, another, though a smaller one, from the lower part.
- l. 20. The letter before <حج> was a <حج> or a <حج>; perhaps we may read <حج>.

- P. 52. For the fragment see note on p. 51.
1. 16. Two small worm-holes have destroyed partly the two or three small letters before ܐ.
1. 19. After ܐ there are traces of a ܐ, or ܐ, or something similar, and the top of an ܐ (or perhaps both traces belong to a ܐ).
- P. 53. Fragm. XXVI is a leaf that has lost a great portion of the upper outer corner, and is injured by great and small worm-holes (see p. xv). A little piece torn off at the bottom, Fragm. XLVII, has preserved of this page the first three or four letters of col. a, ll. 26 f.
- col. a: 1. 6. After ܐ there are traces of the foot of a letter like ܐ and at the end of the line faint traces of another letter, perhaps ܐ.
- P. 54. As to the fragments see note on p. 53 and below, note on col. b, ll. 26 f.
- col. a: 1. 9. Cf. above, p. xxix.
1. 22. In the MS. ܐܪܡܝܐ, seems to have the plural sign, but I think the scribe has blotted out one of the points.
1. 23. It would be of no little interest could one establish to a certainty what was the name of the king here mentioned. In the different traditions discussed above, pp. xxiv—lxvii, we meet with a person playing the same, or a similar, rôle and bearing such different names as 'Αβράμιος or 'Αβραάμ (Acta), 'Επιμιχαῖος (Procopius), 'Αγγάνης (Malala), ابرها or ارياط (Arabic tradition), ܐܒܪܗܐ or ܐܒܪܗܐ (Letter of Simeon). By the name here used the Book of the Himyarite, probably, would class itself with one of those traditions. Unfortunately a worm-hole and a break in the paper have succeeded in spoiling the second and third letters of the name, see Plate VIII. Moreover, the rest of the letters of the name as well as those of the preceding word (ܐܪܡܝܐ) are nearly illegible, the ink being almost totally faded. The first word (ܐܪܡܝܐ) is made certain by my first note from this place in the MS., taken when the fragments were still hidden in the boards, cf. above, p. xi. There the word ܐܪܡܝܐ is written without hesitation whilst the following name is written ܐ. Now even this ܐ is very pale. Of the following letter the uppermost right portion is preserved before the break. What letter this was cannot be concluded

with certainty from that faint trace. I sometimes thought I could read it is a ω and, of course, interpreted the name as $\omega\alpha\beta\gamma\delta$. But this trace certainly does not belong to a ω of normal shape. More likely it should be considered as the remainder of a α , or, possibly, a ω . The traces of the following letters are too faint to allow an interpretation of any value. The photograph *a* reproduced on Plate VIII shows what I think to be immediately visible on the fragment. But, for some time, I thought myself able to discern a little more by closely examining the fragment, turning it round in every way and allowing the light to fall on it from different sides, different angles and even, feebly, through the paper. The photograph *b* on Plate VIII gives a fairly correct idea of what is visible in this way.¹⁾ It should be noted, specially, that what seem, there, to be the upper and lower portions, respectively, of an ι at the end of the word are not the shades of characters (or of other strokes of ink) on the opposite page of the fragment. Still I was not quite convinced that they were traces of a letter once written here.

In this situation Dr. The Svedberg, Professor in the University of Uppsala, much assisted me by undertaking to see what could be gained by photographing the fragment through a special filtre, the colour of which was arrived at in a scientific way. By this method Dr. Svedberg is known, otherwise, to have obtained wonderful results in making old and faded writing legible. The photograph *c* on Plate VIII shows, approximately, the result. It is, I think, no longer doubtful that the last letter was ι and the preceding one most probably ω . Before this letter is the little worm-hole and break already spoken of. If I am right in reading thus, the name should be $\omega\alpha\beta\gamma\delta\iota$ (cf. List of Names) or $\iota\omega\alpha\beta\gamma\delta$. As to its relation to the name in the final note of the Letter of Simeon, see above, p. lxiii. What the original form of this name was, and if it is to be combined with the name Abraha also, are questions that, in my opinion, it is useless, under the

¹⁾ This photograph was taken by Malmö Grafiska Anstalt with an ordinary red filter and a feeble subsidiary light falling from behind through the paper of the fragment.

the present conditions, to puzzle one's brains over. They will be solved when, one day, a hitherto overlooked MS. brings new evidence to bear on them.

col. b: l. 26f. The last word on l. 26 and the last two letters of l. 27 are on Fragg. XLVII. Of the first half of line 27 only the tops are visible.

P. 55. Fragg. XXVII resembles in many ways Fragg. XXVI (see note on p. 53), but the portion lost is in this case the inner bottom corner.

col. a: l. 1. Cf. p. 6^a, 19, or read, perhaps, (cf. p. 56^b, 22f.) ܠܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ.

col. b: l. 2. The readings are doubtful.

P. 56. As to Fragg. XXVII see above.

col. a: l. 1. Nothing remains of this line; if, however, the restoration of ll. 1f. of col. b is accepted, there must have been one line here, corresponding to l. 1 of that column.

l. 2. Of the two words enclosed between brackets only the bottoms remain.

col. b: l. 1. Nothing remains; cf. p. 6^b, 23f.

l. 2. At the end of the line some traces of letters (ܠ, ܠ, ܢ) are visible.

P. 57. The fragment is of same type as Fragg. XXVI (see note on p. 53) but is in a somewhat better condition as the upper outer corner is nearly intact, only two or three words of the first line missing.

With the following discourse (pp. 57—60) compare the Homily XXI of Aphraates (§§ 8—22, Patrol. Syr. I, coll. 952—988).

col. a: ll. 4f. Cf. Gen. 4, 10; the traces of ܠܡܠܟܐ are very ambiguous.

l. 15. Of the first three letters of ܡܠܟܐ only faint traces remain; but cf. Gen. 5, 22 and above, p. 47^a, 22f.

P. 58. For the fragment see note on p. 57.

col. a: ll. 1—8. Cf. Num. ch. 16.

ll. 8—15. Cf. Jos. 10, 11ff.

l. 10. Before ܐ there is a faint trace of what possibly was a ܡ.

ll. 16—21. Cf. Judges ch. 7.

ll. 21—25. Cf. Judges ch. 16.

l. 27. Of ܐ nothing remains, of the following three letters only the tops. As this line corresponds to l. 27 of col. b at least one line is missing here. Cf. Judges ch. 11f.

- col. b: ll. 3—8. Cf. Judges ch. 4f.; 𐩦𐩣𐩪𐩬 (l. 4) is mistake for Canaanites; the same mistake in Aphraates, op. cit., col. 949.
- ll. 8—14. Cf. 1 Sam. ch. 1f.
- ll. 14—18. Cf. 1 Sam. ch. 4.
- l. 16. MS. 𐩦𐩣𐩪𐩬 for 𐩦𐩣𐩪𐩬.
- ll. 24ff. Cf. 2 Kings 1, 9ff.
- l. 28. Only the tops of the tall letters remain.
- P. 59. Fragm. XXIX resembles Fragm. XXVII, but it is in this case the inner bottom corner that is lost. Portions of the first lines at the top of the inner columns are missing also.
- col. a: ll. 5—11. Cf. 2 Kings 6, 14—20; 𐩦𐩣𐩪𐩬 (l. 7) is a mistake for 𐩦𐩣𐩪𐩬; the same mistake in Aphraates l. 1., and the Peshitta 1 Kings 20, 1.
- ll. 11—17. Cf. 1 Kings 22, 24ff.
- ll. 18—22. Cf. 2 Kings 19, 35.
- ll. 23ff. Cf. Esther ch. 3—7.
- col. b: l. 1. There are left some traces of the bottoms of the letters of the first half also of this line but I have not succeeded in reading them.
- ll. 3—8. Cf. The Book of Esther, which tells, however, of nothing that exactly corresponds to this representation.
- ll. 9—17. Cf. The Book of Susanna.
- ll. 17—23. Cf. Dan. ch. 6.
- ll. 23ff. Cf. Dan. ch. 3.
- P. 60. For the fragment see note on p. 59.
- col. a: ll. 6—12. Cf. 2 Chron. ch. 14.
- col. b: l. 26. Contained only one or two words placed under the last ordinary line (l. 25).
- P. 61. Fragm. XXX is of the same type as Fragm. XXIX (see note on p. 59); for its contents see above, p. xxf. At the top at least one line seems to be lost.
- col. a: l. 1. The bottoms of most of the letters remain, but I have not succeeded in reading them all, the edge of the leaf being darkened and the remains in some cases being very scanty.
- l. 2. Before 𐩦𐩣𐩪𐩬 is a hole and above this the upper half of an l. As there is no room for more letters at the beginning of the line I think this stroke must be interpreted as 𐩦 though it is upright as an l.
- l. 15. Immediately after this line begins the note reproduced above, p. xx.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

- p. 5^a, l. 25. <الله ورسوله محمد> read <الله ورسوله محمد>.
- l. 27. <الله>; the place of these words is on the last line, probably l. 29.
- p. 9^b, l. 4 delete <الله>.
- p. 16^a, l. 15. delete <الله>.
- p. 18^b, l. 9. For <الله> read <الله>.
- pp. xxi f. Further investigation has shown that the "theological treatise" is not a copy of the Book of Timotheos but consists of extracts only from that book. Amongst these are extracts also from Dionysios of Alexandria, from Julius of Rome and from a special pamphlet of Timotheos that begins, in the MS. of the British Museum, on fol. 11^r, the beginning of which, however, is not indicated in the Catalogue.
- p. xxx, l. 20. For 'twice' read 'in four places'.
- l. 21. After '39^a, 21' add '39^b, 2. 42^b, 11'.
- p. xlvī, l. 20. Cf. the end of the Azqir-legend (see above, p. li), or the legend of Pethion, G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus Syrischen Akten Persischer Märtyrer*, pp. 61–68.
- p. xlvii, l. 5. Cf. T. Andrae, *Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum* (see above, p. lxxvii), p. 159f.
- p. li, Note 3. Cf. also the short notice in Theodoros Lector, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 86:1, col. 212.
- p. liv, Note 6. See also Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. De Goeje, pp. 66 ff., and H. Lammens, *Le Califat de Yazīd I^{er}*, Chapter XXII.
- p. lix, l. 24. After '39^a' add '39^b, 42^b'.
- p. lx, l. 34. On the fortifications of Najrān see Waqīdī, *Muhammed in Medina*, hrsg. von J. Wellhausen, p. 343.
- p. lxxx, l. 15. For 'language' read 'script'.
- pp. lxxxiii f. I think it more probable, now, that the names <الله> etc. should be considered as being, in fact, the North-Arabian

names *سليم* etc. as used in Yaman (cf. above, p. lxxvi, ll. 17 ff.) in their pre-literary forms (cf. Brockelmann, *Grundriß der vergleichenden Grammatik der Semitischen Sprachen* I, p. 130). If this view is correct the word *سليم* (p. 34^b, 3; cf. the note on the passage) may be an Arabic loan-word.

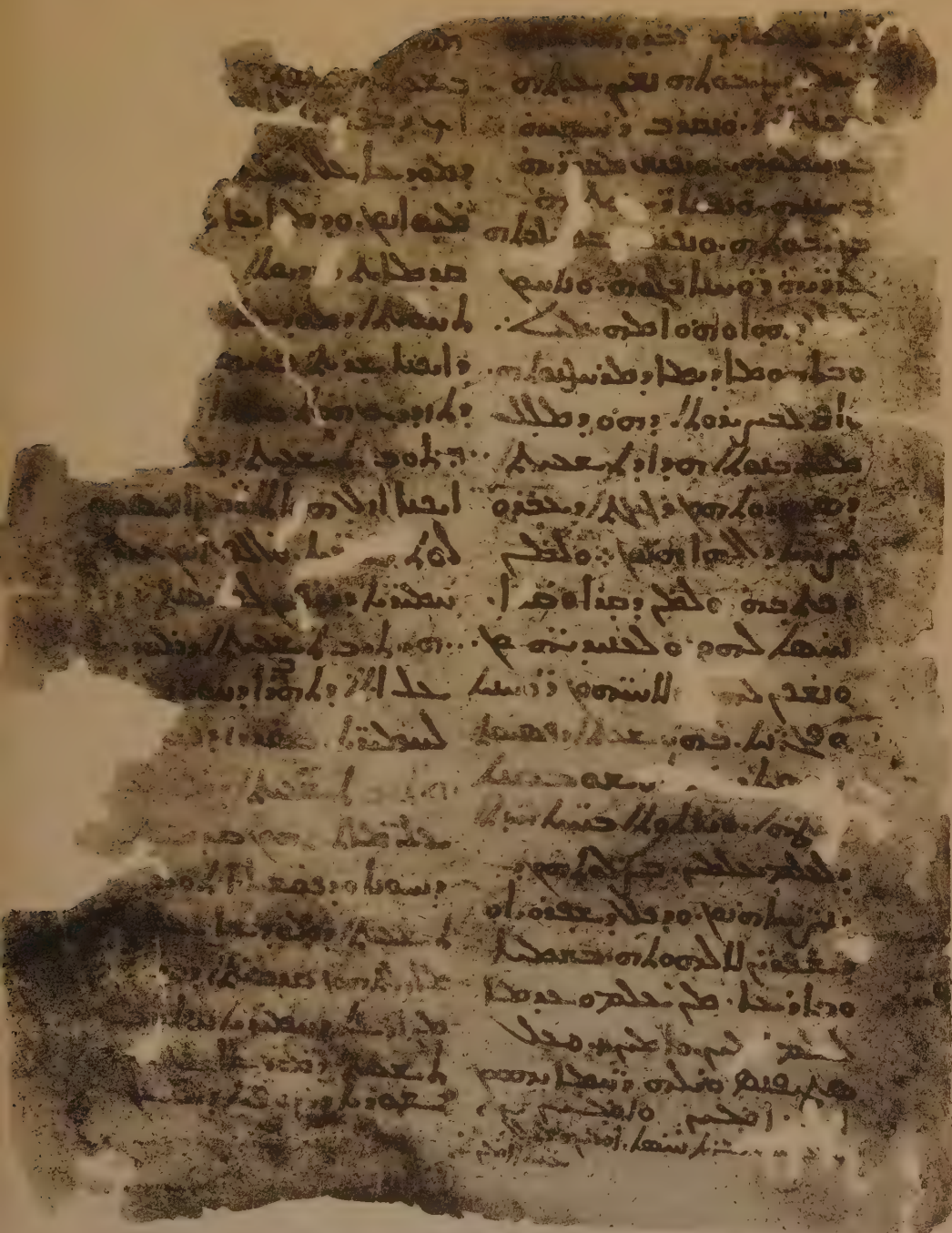
p. ciii, l. 18. For 'Account telling of' read 'The martyrdom of'.

Miswritings as 'Thimotheos' for 'Timotheos', or an incorrect use of 'even' for 'also' in some places in the Introduction, are not considered here.

FACSIMILES

LIST OF FACSIMILES

Plate I.	Fragm. I ^r	cf. Text p. 3
Plate II.	Fragm. III ^{1, 4}	cf. Text pp. 7, 14
Plate III.	Fragm. VII ^v , VIII ^v	cf. Text p. 24
Plate IV.	Fragm. XI ^v	cf. Text p. 30
Plate V.	Fragm. XIX ^r , XX ^r	cf. Text p. 45
Plate VI.	Fragm. XIX ^v , XX ^v	cf. Text p. 46
Plate VII.	Fragm. XXXIV ^{2, 3} , XXXVIII ^v , XLI ^r , XLIII ^v , XLVI ^r , XLVII ^r , XLVIII ^v , XLIX ^r , LI	
Plate VIII.	Fragm. XXVI ^v (lower part) and photographs	cf. Text p. 54 ^a



Fragm. I'

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The image shows a single page from the Voynich manuscript, featuring two columns of text written in the characteristic Voynich script. The script is composed of various symbols, including circles, lines, and dots, which are arranged in a structured manner. The paper is aged and shows some staining, particularly in the center and bottom. The page is numbered '10' in the top right corner. The text is written in dark ink, and the overall appearance is that of a historical document.

XIX^v

22

The image shows a manuscript page with two columns of text. The script is a cursive style, possibly Arabic or Persian. The paper is aged and stained. A small number '22' is visible in the top right corner.

XX^v

XXXIV^{2,3}

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هفتمین، اجماع، و
آنها را در کتابها

در کتابها

و در کتابها
و در کتابها

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و در کتابها
و در کتابها

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و در کتابها
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XLVI^r

XLVII^r

و در کتابها
و در کتابها

XXXVIII^v

و در کتابها
و در کتابها

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و در کتابها

[illegible][illegible]

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 من مرقم خيسه فلاحه
 ايدى من قضايت

מ
חלק השני

הוצאת מוסד
הדפוס
ירושלים

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حنا حنا حنا . . .

معمود: اسم: بقا: معتمد:.

حقه ساقاً و مع لحيه حمله.

ج. ۱۵۱. ۱۵۰ ۱۴۹ ۱۴۸ ۱۴۷ ۱۴۶ ۱۴۵ ۱۴۴ ۱۴۳ ۱۴۲ ۱۴۱ ۱۴۰ ۱۳۹ ۱۳۸ ۱۳۷ ۱۳۶ ۱۳۵ ۱۳۴ ۱۳۳ ۱۳۲ ۱۳۱ ۱۳۰ ۱۲۹ ۱۲۸ ۱۲۷ ۱۲۶ ۱۲۵ ۱۲۴ ۱۲۳ ۱۲۲ ۱۲۱ ۱۲۰ ۱۱۹ ۱۱۸ ۱۱۷ ۱۱۶ ۱۱۵ ۱۱۴ ۱۱۳ ۱۱۲ ۱۱۱ ۱۱۰ ۱۰۹ ۱۰۸ ۱۰۷ ۱۰۶ ۱۰۵ ۱۰۴ ۱۰۳ ۱۰۲ ۱۰۱ ۱۰۰ ۹۹ ۹۸ ۹۷ ۹۶ ۹۵ ۹۴ ۹۳ ۹۲ ۹۱ ۹۰ ۸۹ ۸۸ ۸۷ ۸۶ ۸۵ ۸۴ ۸۳ ۸۲ ۸۱ ۸۰ ۷۹ ۷۸ ۷۷ ۷۶ ۷۵ ۷۴ ۷۳ ۷۲ ۷۱ ۷۰ ۶۹ ۶۸ ۶۷ ۶۶ ۶۵ ۶۴ ۶۳ ۶۲ ۶۱ ۶۰ ۵۹ ۵۸ ۵۷ ۵۶ ۵۵ ۵۴ ۵۳ ۵۲ ۵۱ ۵۰ ۴۹ ۴۸ ۴۷ ۴۶ ۴۵ ۴۴ ۴۳ ۴۲ ۴۱ ۴۰ ۳۹ ۳۸ ۳۷ ۳۶ ۳۵ ۳۴ ۳۳ ۳۲ ۳۱ ۳۰ ۲۹ ۲۸ ۲۷ ۲۶ ۲۵ ۲۴ ۲۳ ۲۲ ۲۱ ۲۰ ۱۹ ۱۸ ۱۷ ۱۶ ۱۵ ۱۴ ۱۳ ۱۲ ۱۱ ۱۰ ۹ ۸ ۷ ۶ ۵ ۴ ۳ ۲ ۱

مدہ مقبلہ؟ مدہ؟ یعنی مدہ۔

(۱۱) فحله حملا. و سلفه مفعلا.

[مذہبہ] . اذہم . ولا اعصب

وإلا فمعدناته . ٥٥١ .

الحمد لله وحده

سلا واکم وکاج ۱۵۵

ॐ नमः शिवाय नमः

امام. فلاح. وسنا. وجمع

حمدًا لله رب العالمين. [م.]

12. 12. 1901. 10. 10. 10.

مسد [م] ا م ل و ، الل و . اب

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(?) لیکن صیغہ ہے۔ وہاں وہاں

... حبه حشمتها. طرح

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(سابقہ) > معبرہ [ند] . ۱ . حر .

٥٥١ > اعلموا : مع : ح

< حلا > مزار< حلا و حلا و حلا . ح .

﴿الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ﴾ (مع لحن) مبدعاً. حمد

(أحمد) رحمه الله

.....

..... <ملی. ص ۱۰۷>

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Fragm. III²,
XXXI²,
XXXII².

- (ألف بعل) فب بضعه في بضعه
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Fragm. III²,
XXXI²,
XXXII²,

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٥٠	٥١	٥٢	٥٣	٥٤	٥٥	٥٦	٥٧	٥٨	٥٩	٦٠	٦١	٦٢	٦٣	٦٤	٦٥	٦٦	٦٧	٦٨	٦٩	٧٠	٧١	٧٢	٧٣	٧٤	٧٥	٧٦	٧٧	٧٨	٧٩	٨٠	٨١	٨٢	٨٣	٨٤	٨٥	٨٦	٨٧	٨٨	٨٩	٩٠	٩١	٩٢	٩٣	٩٤	٩٥	٩٦	٩٧	٩٨	٩٩	١٠٠

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Fragm. VI²,
XXXVI²,
XXXVII^v,
XLIV^v, LII^v.

[illegible]

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Fragm. V⁴,
XXXIX^v,
XLI^v.
Chap. XVII.

❖ سحره انت حصه
 داره سحره حقه مدله مقبله
 اهله سحره انت ولا نه سحره

﴿قَدْ أَفْلَحَ﴾ ﴿قَدْ أَفْلَحَ﴾ ﴿قَدْ أَفْلَحَ﴾ ﴿قَدْ أَفْلَحَ﴾
 ﴿قَدْ أَفْلَحَ﴾ ﴿قَدْ أَفْلَحَ﴾ ﴿قَدْ أَفْلَحَ﴾ ﴿قَدْ أَفْلَحَ﴾ ...

[illegible][illegible]

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[illegible]

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(two lines missing)

[٨] صححه اے... وہی لکھا
 حجب اللہ: لہذا وہی حجب
 اتحجب. مع حجب عن حجاب مع
 تسعہ وہی. حجاب وہی اے
 20 ہا (جہ. تسعہ سے). حجاب وہی
 حجب عن قلبہ وہی. حجب وہی
 واللہ. وہی ہا (تسلا. حجب وہی
 اے. حجب وہی وہی حجب اللہ
 حجب ہا مع وہی. حجب وہی
 25 لہا حجب. ہا وہی حجب مع
 حجاب وہی.. احجاب وہی حجب وہی
 حجب اللہ ہا حجب حجب. حجب

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١ حنل ارمصا . انا لال انا
 ٢ حنل انا لال لال مع
 ٣ حنل لقا انا . انا . انا . انا
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 ٧ انا حنل لقا حنل انا
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* الحى اسى واذنى حبى. واسبى لا ازى
 انا: انا نبي وانا اذنى انا
 ميمى. واذنى حبى واذنى
 حبى ولا اذنى حبى واذنى حبى
 5 واذنى. واذنى انا واذنى حبى..
 اذنى حبى سحرى. واذنى حبى
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Fragm. XV.

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[illegible]

[illegible]

حده

- ٥٥٥٥ حنعمه اس و مع و صند
 ولا مصل بعده ٥٥٥٥ انلا
 وده ٥٥٥٥ حنعمسا. و افعه
 حنني. ولا فللا حنه.. و هف
 ٥٥٥٥ اوت حنسل خولا و
 سده. و نه و نيف ٥٥٥٥ مفللا
 اف حنلا سارا مفضلا. ٥٥٥٥
 حنه. و رلا حولا اف و مفل حنني
 مفضلا. و نيف و افع حنه و مفل.
 10 حنمب حنلا نفل و نقي حنعمسا:
 و انفل و افلا ببا مده مع
 حنه و افعه ولا مفضلا.. و نه و
 و ٥٥٥٥ زحط و مفل. و نه
 ٥٥٥٥ مع حنلا و حنمب و حنلا
 ٥٥٥٥ حنه حنني. و حنمب و حنلا
 و نه و ٥٥٥٥ و نيف افع مفللا
 و نقي ٥٥٥٥ مع حنلا و مع نفل. و نه
 و نه و ٥٥٥٥ حنعمسا. ٥٥٥٥
 و مفل و نيف حنمب و مفل و حنلا.
 و نيف ٥٥٥٥ و نه و مفل. و لا
 و انمب نفل. اس مفل و حنمب
 و لا. و مفل و نيف و نه و نقي ٥٥٥٥
 مده و حنلا حنلا. و افع
 ٥٥٥٥ و ممبر افع ممبر و
 و حنمب و مفل و مفل. و نه
 و نه و مفل و نه و مفل
 [و حنه]. و حنه [و حنه]
 ٥٥٥٥ حنمب و مفل و مفل
 حنمب و مفل و مفل و مفل
 ٥٥٥٥ حنمب و مفل و مفل
 [و حنه].
- ٥٥٥٥ حنمب و مفل و مفل
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 سارا و مع ممبر و مفل
 10 مفل و مفل و مفل و مفل
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 و ممبر و مفل و مفل
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 حنلا. و مفل و مفل و مفل
 15 حنلا و مفل و مفل و مفل
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 ٥٥٥٥ حنمب و مفل و مفل
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 ٥٥٥٥ حنمب و مفل و مفل
 [و حنه].

Chap.
XXIII.

Fragm. XXI^r,
XXII^r, XLII^r,
XLIII^r.

۱. سوختگی

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(Two lines missing)

[illegible]

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Fragm. XXV².

- حرحل! صب
 <م>ل هضه ٥٥٥
 <ح حرحل> ح اضا. <ح>م
 [٥٥]. ٥٥٥ م
 5 ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥ ل
 انقب?
 مع متهلل اذم. وحقه
 ٥٥٥. حجه ٥٥ [٥٥] ححلا
 ححلا! باحلا ٥٥. وحقه
 10 ٥٥٥ ح حنم ححلا
 ححلا فح. وحقه ٥٥
 انم اس متهلل: هحق.
 هحلا ححلا. هحق
 ٥٥٥ مع انقب مع ححلا
 15 وحقم م٥٥ سلحلا
 <م>[ل] محق. حلا ٥٥ محق
 <ح ح> ل ح! وحقه ٥٥٥...
 <م>[ل] محق ٥٥٥ انقب
 <ح ح> ح حلا ٥٥. وحق ٥٥٥
 20 <م>[ل] محق ٥٥٥

- ... [?] ... [حففه نسم] ...
... سس ... [لا] ... [حففه نسم] ...
... [?] ... [حففه نسم] ...
... [?] ... [حففه نسم] ...
5 [?] ... [حففه نسم] ...
... [?] ... [حففه نسم] ...
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... [?] ... [حففه نسم] ...
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... [?] ... [حففه نسم] ...
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... [?] ... [حففه نسم] ...
... [?] ... [حففه نسم] ...

Fragm. XXV^v.

قدوس صمد (۱) فلاح (۱۵۵)

فصله: حکیم اہل (۱۵) طلب ...

.. [ح] : ٥٥ [ص] [س] : فحه >

Chap. ١٥٨٨ : ﴿١٥٨٨﴾

5 2
بالمبدا الحقة. مبدا فله

فلما مع انقب مع **فتمع**

[መጽሐፍ ወይን] ሌዕከሊክ መጽሐፍ ወይን?

الحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا

[illegible]

10 الامم مهم نقل. مله ح

معهم [ح:] سبب هـ افلا حبيبم. (لا)

Fragm. XXVI^v,
XLVII^v.

Chap.
XLVIII.

Fragm. XXVIII^f.

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[illegible]

[جمعه یکم].....

[٤] فَمَا قَدْ أَهْمَكَ .. مَا كُنْتَ

[۲] [۳] [۴] [۵] [۶] [۷] [۸] [۹] [۱۰] [۱۱] [۱۲] [۱۳] [۱۴] [۱۵] [۱۶] [۱۷] [۱۸] [۱۹] [۲۰] [۲۱] [۲۲] [۲۳] [۲۴] [۲۵] [۲۶] [۲۷] [۲۸] [۲۹] [۳۰] [۳۱] [۳۲] [۳۳] [۳۴] [۳۵] [۳۶] [۳۷] [۳۸] [۳۹] [۴۰] [۴۱] [۴۲] [۴۳] [۴۴] [۴۵] [۴۶] [۴۷] [۴۸] [۴۹] [۵۰] [۵۱] [۵۲] [۵۳] [۵۴] [۵۵] [۵۶] [۵۷] [۵۸] [۵۹] [۶۰] [۶۱] [۶۲] [۶۳] [۶۴] [۶۵] [۶۶] [۶۷] [۶۸] [۶۹] [۷۰] [۷۱] [۷۲] [۷۳] [۷۴] [۷۵] [۷۶] [۷۷] [۷۸] [۷۹] [۸۰] [۸۱] [۸۲] [۸۳] [۸۴] [۸۵] [۸۶] [۸۷] [۸۸] [۸۹] [۹۰] [۹۱] [۹۲] [۹۳] [۹۴] [۹۵] [۹۶] [۹۷] [۹۸] [۹۹] [۱۰۰]

ملا وفتا حبه. اه فلد ملبه.

[بنی] لا حلا نهلما ۝ ۵۶ ۝ وفضل

مع موهبة! واليه فاعلوه!

190. ۱۱۰۰ ۱۱۰۰ ۱۱۰۰

محلا حنپہ۔ مملوہ، حنبہ

مدیرتعداد : رئیس هیئت مدیره

میر الدہلوی حلقہ ۵۵۵ حلقہ

۵۰ (۱۰۰) ۱۰۰۰ ۱۰۰۰۰ ۱۰۰۰۰۰

ملکتی مقصدیہ حللہ سہا:

حزله! و[له] [حب! مب.[له!]

؟ دھرمدا ۛکاراۛا . اۛبۛ اۛبۛ

زکات حلالاً معلوماً من مال منقولاً و جزیء

